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# Daily Report

## EASTERN EUROPE

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE
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NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR, FBIS:

Forty years ago, the U.S. Government inaugurated a new service to monitor foreign public broadcasts. A few years later a similar group was established to exploit the foreign press. From the merger of these organizations evolved the present-day FBIS. Our constant goal throughout has been to provide our readers with rapid, accurate, and comprehensive reporting from the public media worldwide.

On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

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BELGRADE TV INTERVIEWS USSR, SFRY CSCE DELEGATES

AU241131 Belgrade Domestic Television Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 19 Feb 81

["Current Affairs" program devoted to the CSCE in Madrid moderated by Stanko Sajtinac, including interviews with Milorad Pesic, SFRY deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Leonid Ilichev, head of the Soviet delegation to the Madrid CSCE meeting; and Rudi Cacinovic, head of the Yugoslav delegation to the Madrid CSCE--recorded date and place not given--questions and answers in Bozic interview with Ilichev recorded in Russian fading into Serbo-Croatian translation]

[Excerpts] [Sajtinac] Comrade Pesic, is the present time in Europe really so grave that it endangers the work of the Madrid meeting and political relations in the world in general?

[Pesic] That is a very complex question, I would say, but these is not doubt that the present period in Europe directly influences the course of the Madrid meeting and will probably influence its final outcome, too. However, if we want to obtain a more complete picture of the present period in Europe, we must note a real fact; that is that relative stability exists in Europe. It is relative in comparison with many crisis situations, which at present characterize the situation and relations in other regions, in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and so forth.

However, it must be taken into account that Europe is not an isolated island, that a high degree of interdependence now exists on a global scale, and all that happens in other regions.

[Sajtinac] [interrupting] Exerts its influence.

[Pesic] Absolutely. It exerts direct influence on the situation in Europe and the state of relations in Europe. However, we must at the same time note that despite this relative stability of political and other relations in Europe, some political aggravation has occurred in Europe during, say, the last 2 years. Such aggravation is felt above all in the field of the military aspects of European security.

Nevertheless, significant political and other contacts are being maintained in Europe, reflecting an extraordinarily high degree of interdependence of relations in Europe. This interdependence has its material and social foundation. It is obvious that nobody wants Europe to turn back to cold war relations, for all the factors in Europe are aware of the tremendous risks of such an unfavorable development of the European situation.

If we want to make a summary assessment of the situation in Europe, it must be said that the most positive results were attained in the field of developing inter-European economic relations, particularly in the East-West relations, which is to say CEMA and the EEC countries.

[Sajtinac] [interrupting] There is common interest in it.

[Pesic] It is obvious that real material interests exist on both sides. For instance, just consider the fact that trade between the CEMA and the EEC countries in 1980 amounted to over R70 billion, somewhat over $90 billion, and that it was about 20 percent higher than in 1979. It is known that the CEMA countries now owe some $65 billion to the West European countries. Between 30 and 40 percent of the total CEMA debt is borne by Poland alone.

It must nevertheless be noted that recently this cooperation was curtailed to a certain extent, partly for political reasons, which is to say the development of the situation after the Afghan events, particularly in some fields of long-term economic relations. However, to some extent this is also a consequence of the fall of production growth, both in the CEMA and the EEC countries. The CEMA countries last year had approximately a 4 percent level in the growth of production.

The rate was only half that of the EEC countries. It is estimated that in 1981 the fall will be even greater and it will inevitably influence, I would say, the dynamics of mutual trade relations.

[Sajtinac] And regarding political ones?

[Pesic] As to political relations, I have said that one must note a positive fact of the rather intensive contacts at high political levels between the West and East European countries. But in my deep conviction what now burdens these relations most is the armaments race.

[Sajtinac] We have mentioned that.

[Pesic] As far as I know, a few days ago television reported certain information about that. According to an assessment, the total sum of the armaments race, or rather the military budgets, will be about $500 billion, about 80 percent of it being in the shares of the two big powers and the European countries.

One can now say that such technological advances have been made that a technological basis for regional nuclear wars has been created. It is all the more true because preparations for introducing medium-range missiles are very intensive in Europe. In addition the resumption of neutron bomb production is again being discussed and this will certainly introduce new dimensions and essential doctrinal changes in relations between the European area and battlefield and global relations.

[Sajtinac] Let us now listen to a report from Madrid prepared by Zarko Bozic, Zagreb television correspondent. He interviewed Leonid Ilichev and Max Kampelman, heads of the Soviet Union and the U.S. delegations, respectively, who very graphically demonstrate the present state of relations between the two superpowers. Let us listen to it.

[Bozic] Responding to disarmament proposals, Mr Kampelman in fact said "no" and spoke about arming. How do you interpret what is left of the military relaxation of tension in Europe?

[Ilichev] Are you referring to today's statement by the head of the American delegation or are you referring to his statement in general?

[Bozic] His statement in general, because I do not know what he spoke about today. What did he say?

[Ilichev] I think that the relaxation of tension is continuing primarily because the peoples of European countries are interested in it. The relaxation of tension is not a momentary process. It is a long-term process born in the struggle of the peace-loving forces against aggression and against the arms race.

[Bozic] Can it be said that that is the basic strategy of the Soviet Union?

[Ilichev] The basic strategy of the Soviet Union and of our government and party is to develop and strengthen the relaxation of tension in Europe and wider afield. Detente is a vital need of all peoples. Anyone who strives to undermine it, to place a time bomb under it and to destroy it, pushes mankind to the brink of grave shocks.

[Bozic] And what are the basic problems now in connection with the relaxation of tension?

[Ilichev] The basic problem is that of continuing at the Madrid European conference the process of strengthening European cooperation or, to put it differently, of continuing the relaxation of tension in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act. Detente is the only road along which it is possible to improve the contemporary international situation.

[Bozic] A hope still remains that it will be better at the next conference. Do you think so?

[Ilichev] I consider the question of the next conference premature. We must achieve positive results through the efforts of all European countries, that is, small and big and nuetral and nonaligned countries.

[Bozic] Are you optimistic or pessimistic?

[Ilichev] If we proceed from the interests of peoples, if we consider the interests of peoples and their expectations and their aspirations to preserve peace and security on the European Continent, I am an optimist. But if we consider the undermining and destructive position that the U.S. administration, the government, and the U.S. delegation to the Madrid meeting have adopted, I begin to think that the course of the U.S. administration is mainly aimed at undermining detente, at undermining the Madrid meeting.

[Bozic] Thank you very much, Comrade Ilichev.

[Ilichev] I also want to say that relaxing tension is our wealth. Detente is something for which all countries--big and small, nonaligned and neutral and the countries belonging to military alliances--have paid a high price. The enemies of peace and detente must not be allowed to undermine detente. It is necessary to mobilize all forces, all our intellectual capacities and the entire friendship consolidated on the European Continent to preserve and strengthen detente.

[Sajtinac] We have heard these interviews and there is hardly any need to comment on them. Today that is the political reality not only at the Madrid meeting but also further afield in Europe and the world. It is daily discussed both in written and spoken words and we have also seen how all that appears under specific circumstances. Thus it is not surprising that the Madrid conference finds itself at an impasse for it is really very difficult to make any progress in such an atmosphere. Naturally the question primarily applies to the U.S. position following the change in the White House and Ronald Reagan's assumption of office as the U.S. President: To what extent is the U.S. reaction only a matter of political rhetoric and to what extent is it an indication of new tunes in Ronald Reagan's administration? How does that look to you, Comrade Pesic, or what are the appraisals of future U.S. strategy at the Madrid meeting and further afield in Europe and the world?

[Pesic] The present state of relations between the two big powers is obviously very tense. That fact absolutely unfavorably affects broader international relations, European relations and the course of the Madrid meeting itself, as we saw in these two reports from Madrid. It is certain that Reagan's assumption of office as the U.S. President is a new fact that will have significant implications both for the relations between the two big powers and for broader international relations, although it must be expected that, like any other policy, that policy will also have to take into consideration the real facts, interests and circumstances. However, what represents--within a set policy--the approach to certain problems, the priority of interests and finally the style of conducting a policy, must not be underestimated in this connection. Following the changes in Washington, both sides are now probably at a stage of preparing and formulating their basic positions, which is certainly not a simple task and which is obviously accompanied--if I may say so--by a sharp vocabulary in their current mutual public communication. It nevertheless seems to me that both countries will orient themselves to a dialogue, to negotiations. A certain amount of time will probably be needed to adapt, prepare and create the necessary political and other conditions to open such a dialogue. You have seen that the world press is already writing about the existence of a new Soviet-American bilateralism, bipolarism and so forth, even though I think that it would be wrong to presume that the negotiations conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union in the first half of the seventies--when the United States had its Nixon-Kissinger administration in Washington--might be repeated.

[Sajtinac] Somehow from all these interviews the view imposes itself that some kind of bipolarism is gradually appearing in relations between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, a bipolarism that, to be sure, is only negative at present. Let us recall the U.S. policy of linkage toward the Soviet Union, that is, a policy of considering Soviet foreign policy actions in their totality, if we may say so. However, a positive bipolarism is certainly not excluded for the future. In your opinion, how does that appear to you, Comrade Pesic? Is that so?

[Pesic] I want to say something about the relations between the two big powers and the repercussions of these relations in a wider international field as viewed through a broader perspective. The opening of a dialogue between the two big powers can only have a positive effect on all international relations and, under the given circumstances, promote an improvement of those relations. That is one thing. Another thing is primarily the effect of such a dialogue in the sphere of efforts to somehow halt the arms race and open a process of disarmament negotiations, a sphere in which the place and role of the big powers are certainly great.

But in this connection it is necessary to consider the fact that the contemporary structure of international relations has essentially changed and that--if I may say so--the policy of spheres of interest and of agreements between the big powers at the expense of other peoples is no longer acceptable and, I dare say, has become historically obsolete. This means that agreements and bilaterialism, the so-called bilaterialism, between the big powers must be incorporated in a new structure of international relations and must be within the context--if I may say so--of the struggle for a democratization of international relations, for equality, for a greater role of the United Nations, to solve the key international problems and to build new international economic and political relations, a new international economic and political system.

Of course, that also implies developing the policy of detente as a universal process and not merely as a state of relations between the two big powers, a state that in one period shows more--if I may say so--inclination to agreements, whereas in another period contradictions and thereby also [word indistinct] between the two big powers break to the surface. I think that in this respect the latest ministerial conference of nonaligned countries that just concluded in New Delhi clearly formulated the views of the Nonaligned Movement as a real alternative precisely to this contemporary international situation.

[Sajtinac] Let us return to Europe and to the European nonaligned and nonbloc countries. What is their role now in light of that bipolarism between the two powers? Is room for maneuvering being expanded or is it being narrowed? We know that these European nonbloc countries have been very active at the Madrid meeting so far.

[Pesic] I think that the positive trends that characterize the activity of the Nonaligned Movement, the fact that the movement is becoming an increasingly prominent and influential factor in international relations and, if I may say so, the legitimate historical processes that have now spread to all structures of international relations, cannot avoid Europe. It is necessary to note that three European countries are nonaligned and that six European countries attend all meetings of nonaligned countries as observers or as invited guests and that this is a very important fact in Europe. In this connection, although the CSCE certainly resulted from a changed state of relations between the blocs in Europe at the beginning of the seventies, it nevertheless was not stipulated--if I may say so--as an international political framework for interbloc agreements but as something in which 35 countries from Europe and the United States and Canada participate on the basis of completely equal rights and sovereign equality.

I would say that in my opinion, regardless of the existing situation and the undoubtedly more difficult conditions for the activity of the neutral and nonaligned countries, these countries continue to play a positive role in Madrid also, just as they played at all CSCE stages and especially at the Belgrade meeting and that--naturally, within the context of the real situation and real possibilities--these countries will contribute to securing the results that are realistically possible under the given circumstances, which will probably be and can be their greatest merit in this respect.

[Sajtinac] Let us return again for a moment to Madrid where Zarko Bozic, Zagreb Television correspondent, prepared an interview with Ambassador Rudi Cacinovic, head of our delegation to the Madrid conference, which, as we have said, is very actively participating in the activity of the European neutral and nonaligned countries. Let us see that interview:

[Bozic] Comrade Ambassador, in your latest statement you noted that here we are mainly witnessing negotiations or, to put it even better, a confrontation between the two big powers and the two blocs. Is that an impression or a fact?

[Cacinovic] Our delegation believes that there are some who perhaps wish that it were so, but we believe that it need not be so. In my statement I precisely appealed to all attending the conference that it should not be so. To tell the truth, there are many indications that perhaps lead to such a conclusion and, among other indications, there are also the statements that you obtained today from the representatives of the two big powers.

[Bozic] The obvious conclusion, the global conclusion that can be made on the basis of those interviews is that there is a confrontation, and thus my next question is this: The situation has been blocked. In your opinion, in what direction should the efforts of the European neutral and nonaligned countries be oriented in this blocked situation?

[Cacinovic] Our delegation, together with the delegations of other European nonaligned and neutral countries, has tried on several occasions to unblock the situation. I think, however, that the situation is not totally blocked and that there nevertheless are certain dialogues and a few results in regard to which we can even say that we all agree on certain questions. Of course, if we condition all that by the final and complete goal, then that is something else. But together with others in our group we believe that no effort must be spared to achieve some real results even though the results will not be great, will not perhaps be such as (?we expected).

[Sajtinac interrupting] Spectacular.

[Cacinovic] We do not even want spectacular results. Let them be good results that will nevertheless be able to lead Europe and the world somewhat closer to that final goal, that is, to perserving peace together of course with disarmament, and cooperation in all other fields in which there is great inteest. For instance- let us mention the question of economic cooperation on which considerable agreement already exists and which has been perhaps subject to other conditions until now. Then, let us say, we have the problem of terrorism, which is very important and on which nearly all are agreed. Then another issue, for instance, is the issue of workers in Europe in which we and some other, especially southern European, countries are very interested and on which considerable agreement also exists and in regard to which some highly developed countries also support us to some extent.

[Bozic] This means that you nevertheless see some light in that tunnel.

[Cacinovic] Well, if we speak about tunnels, all tunnels have their exits, and the light at the end of the tunnel must appear sooner or later. But how long that tunnel is, is a question about which no one can know precisely nor how many more kilometers we have before us.

But in fact we believe that all that is a process that clearly reflects the international situation that is very strongly present here and we must stimulate that process as much as possible with our efforts and ensure that we achieve at least some kind of a gradual solution. This conference certainly will not conclude as the last conference. But even if it achieved the best results, it is necessary to proceed in stages to perfect certain things and to bring that process to a desired conclusion.

[Bozic] Yes. But it is precisely this issue on which views differ. For instance, Ilichev believes that it is still premature to speak about a continuity of this conference. That may be a negotiating card but in any event it is a fact that neither the place nor the date of the next conference have been as yet been determined.

[Cacinovic] We hope that what the two big power representatives stated today and what they stated at our plenary sessions and what, among other things, the U.S. representative said today, that all this is not the last word, that there are certainly various elements for negotiations and that certainly all elements for negotiations and that certainly all elements demanded by one or the other will not be completely realized for one or another. But I think that certain elements can nevertheless be expected from all that and that we will at least agree on the continuity of the European conference. Where and how it will be held, that is perhaps also a matter of dispute but I nevertheless think that that will be less a matter of dispute than some other matters.

[Bozic] This means that hopes remain but are wrapped in many uncertainties.

[Cacinovic] Yes. But I think that hopes are necessary and that in the final report we can state that there is no other alternative. For what is the alternative? The alternative is suicide. And I think that no one wants that. As to our delegation and the nonaligned and neutral countries, we in fact will spare no efforts to realistically achieve at least something of all that, as I have said.

[Bozic] Thank you, Comrade Ambassador.

You have heard a spectrum of views from and on this conference. In these views you have heard the interests of the two big powers in the way that they conceive them. And you have seen that these interests do not coincide; they clash sharply in most cases. This conference is developing into a sharp confrontation between the two big powers and the two blocs. The bloc confrontation is the basic characteristic of international relations at this time. This confrontation is verbally continued here. The second conclusion includes the consequence of that confrontation: In Madrid, Helsinki to some extent returned to Yalta. The big powers have again spoken with big voices here in Madrid and they dictate the rhythm. The danger of returning to bipolarization is obvious for, you have heard Ilichev and the continuity of Helsinki itself is in danger. But in all that there is a new element: The world has changed and the moral strength and presence of the neutral and nonaligned countries are incomparably greater and more pronounced. It is clear to the entire world public who represents the true interests of peace and detente here in Madrid.

[Sajtinac] The prospects obviously are not excellent and no one expects any longer that the Madrid conference might conclude on 5 March as it had been foreseen. That would obviously be excessive optimism in view of the situation as it is there now. The month of May is being already mentioned as a possible date for the conclusion of this meeting. The views are obviously gloomy. Are the prospects also such, Comrade Pesic?

[Pesic] As this program has shown, it is obvious that the Madrid CSCE meeting faces grave difficulties. I think that a comparison to a tunnel in which no exit is seen would not be correct.

I think that the views expressed by Ambassador Cacinovic are realistic. In the same way the comparisons between Helsinki or Madrid and Yalta are very problematical. These historical reminiscences may impose themselves in view of certain accents that are apparent in Madrid but I think that the times have essentially changed. If I tried to express my personal views on possible results of the Madrid meeting, I would approximately formulate them in the following manner, that is, formulate what I think should be the essential and definite result or outcome of the Madrid Meeting. First, there should be a confirmation of the essence of the CSCE process as it was formulated in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. Second, there should be ensurance of the continuity of that process, that is, an agreement on new meetings and new forms of cooperation. Finally there should be a political accord on the need to open a process of negotiations on disarmament in Europe. I think that within the existing context of international relations that would not be little.

ROMANIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES CSCE MADRID MEETING

AU251325 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1130 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Madrid, 25 Feb (AGERPRES)--Within the drafting group No. 1 of the Madrid all-European conference Romanian Ambassador Constantin Ene highlighted the basic features of the Romanian proposal on the convening of a conference on building up confidence and on military disarmament in Europe.

The conception on which the Romanian proposal is based--the speaker showed--sets out from the necessity of developing gradually the efforts aimed at reducing the military confrontation and promoting disarmament in Europe, while firmly orienting them towards the final targets of general and total disarmament. Since disarmament is necessarily a process, these efforts must progress from simple measures to complex ones, of special importance being in the beginning, particularly under the present international circumstances, the measures of improving confidence. The mandate of the first stage of the conference to be dedicated to measures of enhancing confidence, the Romanian speaker said then, should be as precise as possible in view of orienting the efforts towards efficient measures apt to open the way to ever firmer actions on the line of disarmament. Given the complex problems posed by establishing such a mandate, the conditions of these measures should meet in order to offer the guarantee of efficient, substantial negotiations, the solutions should be reached by means of political negotiations that should take into account the various approaches to the question and, above all, the vital interest of all the European nations in an urgent, firm passage to the implementation of disarmament.

The Romanian representative brought to the fore in conclusion a series of elements that grounded on the discussions carried out so far in the working group, might help identifying certain coverging points. So, stressed was the necessity of conceiving the conference as a unique process meant to lead to the objective of general and total disarmament established through the Final Act. At the same time the mandate of the first stage should be defined by means of negotiated solutions. The next Madrid-type CSCE conference will have to decide the passing on to the second stage, that should be dedicated to the problems of military disengagement and disarmament and at the same time to examining the report on the development of the first stage of the conference. By so doing the two stages would support each other, the measures of building up confidence preparing conditions for ever more efficient measures of actual disarmament.

Finally the conference will have to be integrated organically in the CSCE process, with the strict observance of all its procedure rules and work methods.

Addresses were made during the talks on the subject also by representatives of other states, among them those of Sweden, Ireland, France, Yugoslavia, GDR, and Poland, who referred in positive terms to the Romanian proposal.

ZHIVKOV ADDRESSES 24 FEB SESSION OF CPSU CONGRESS

For Sofia and Moscow reports of the speech by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the 24 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 25 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 037, Supp 002.

COMMENTARY ON BREZHNEV MIDDLE EAST PROPOSAL

AU251634 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Commentary by BTA observer Dimitur Shishmanov]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Feb (BTA)--Mr Leonid Brezhnev's proposal for an international conference on the Middle East problem is coming up as the most correct way out of the deadlock to which this problem was brought by the Camp David accords.

Not a separative but a collective decision with the participation of all the interested parties is proposed by the top party and state leader of the Soviet Union. This means participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and of Israel, too. This is an exceptionally constructive element of the proposal excluding any discrimination.

Another important moment in the proposal is the participation of other interested parties--namely the USSR and the USA, as well as the European countries. Many West European states have regarded with grave reserve the Camp David accords and have been discussing for a long time the question of making a contribution to the Middle East problem. Mr Brezhnev's proposal facilitates these countries, too, in making their contribution to the cause.

The proposal ensures an active role for the United Nations in the settling of the Middle East problem. This is another very positive side of the proposal.

Mr Leonid Brezhnev's proposal provides guarantees for sovereignty and security of all states in the region, including Israel. The best guarantee is certainly the just settling of the problem on the basis of the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples and the people of Palestine, namely a complete withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and the right of the Arab people of Palestine to their own independent state. The Camp David accords concluded by Begin and As-Sadat with U. S. mediation are threatening permanently with their anti-Arab character and goals, with their serving of U. S. interests and strategy in the Middle East the security of the Arab states and of Israel, failing to solve the problem and being rife with permanent conflict.

The first very positive reactions to the proposal in the Arab world and of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as its assessment at the Western capitals as a promising idea, inspire with optimism that the Soviet initiative will become subject of careful study as an acceptable basis for a just settling of the Middle East problem and for lasting peace in that part of the world.

PEACE COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING IN SOFIA 25 FEB

AU251416 Sofia BTA in English 1347 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 25 Feb (BTA)--Mr Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin chairman of the Bulgarian Peace Committee, assessed the new proposals made by Mr Leonid Brezhnev for consolidation of the world peace as businesslike and realistic, outlining sound and lasting roads to world peace. "In this particularly alarming moment of exacerbation of the international tension by new threats with thermonuclear war these proposals acquire an increasing attractive power, inspire optimism and confidence in the prospects of the struggle for peace," said he.

Mr Goshkin spoke at a plenary session of the Bulgarian Peace Committee held here today at which a report was read on the work of the Bulgarian peace movement in 1980 and the new tasks were set.

Underscoring the great importance of the world peace public, including the Bulgarian peace movement, in the struggle for preserving peace in the planet, he pointed out that the World Peace Parliament was the biggest political event.

Mr Goshkin said that the significance of this forum hosted by Bulgaria was defined by the wide-scale international reaction which still continues, by the unanimously approved by the 2,260 delegates from 137 countries "appeal of the world peace parliament" and a "charter of the World Peace Parliament" with concrete recommendations for activation and topicalization of the work of the world peace movement.

The participants in the plenum stood in silence in memory of Academician Georgi Nadzhakov, honorary chairman of the World Peace Council and the Bulgarian Peace Committee, one of the founders of the world peace movement, who died last night.

Committee Condemns U.S.

AU252120 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 25 Feb (BTA)--The national peace committee has adopted a declaration in which the entire Bulgarian peace-loving public is once again condemning the provocative maneuvers of the American imperialists in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean area.

Support was expressed to the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples in the world aimed at cutting short the blackmails of the U.S. imperialists.

The declaration insists on putting an end to the sabre rattling and the gross arbitrariness with the peoples fate in the Persian Gulf area and the Indian Ocean, on halting all the attempts of violation of their sovereign rights. A complete solidarity with the determination of the people of that region to defend security and social progress in the name of peace and understanding among all peoples in the world is also expressed in the declaration.

At an extended plenary session the national peace committee has adopted a declaration in defense of the struggle of the heroic people of El Salvador against the usurping power of the antipopular junta defending the interests of the foreign monopolies and the big owners.

The Bulgarian people, the Bulgarian peace fighters, the declaration reads, have greeted from its very beginning the just struggle of the Salvadoran patriots for a happy life of their people, for the prosperity of their country.

The plots of the American war-mongers to interfere in the internal affairs of El Salvador are condemned in the declaration.

BULGARIAN CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS PZPR WORKERS

AU251738 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Feb 81 p 7

[Article by Angelo Bonev, Warsaw correspondent: "Everyone's Responsibility"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Feb--Sweryn Kowalski, secretary of the PZPR District Committee in Mokotow, gave me a telephone number. "Just call Zbigniew Kochan," he said. "He will tell you how he is working under the new conditions in one of the largest Warsaw party organizations."

Zbigniew Kochan, secretary of the PZPR Committee in the Scientific-Producition Center for Semiconductors, invited me at once. We met at No 5 Domaniewska Street, where the administrative building of this enterprise is located. The building carries a large sign reading: Unitra.

Unitra--this is a widely known enterprise, which also incorporates the Scientific-Production Center for Semiconductors, and is well-knwon not only in Poland. The name of this enterprise is marked on numerous Polish radio sets, tape recorders and television sets, and has long been accepted as a symbol of high quality goods. I know that the collective of this center is one of the largest, not only in the Polish capital, but throughout the country. In Warsaw alone it comprises two institutes and three plants. In addition to this, there are enterprises in various Polish cities which belong to the same complex. They produce transitors, electronic optical instruments, automobile spare parts and household appliances.

Now, following the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, all days here are eventful. The 10-percent program submitted by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in his declaration to the Sejm was welcomed with satisfaction. The government intends to act quickly and resolutely so that the results of its activities aimed at rescuing the country from the crisis may be most widely supported by the public. Many collectives are convinced that prerequisites will be created in the country for energetic and efficient work not just during the 90 calm days that have been announced.

I had many questions to ask the party secretary. How are the people feeling? How are they reacting to events in the country which have occurred during these last weeks? How has the life of the party organization changed? What is the attitude to the new Solidarity trade unions?

"There have been many changes, and not only we have changed. Changes have also occurred within the party organization," Zbigniew Kochan began. "Until recently, we attached the greatest importance to economic problems and to the social issues of the collective, but political work among the people remained somewhat in the background. Now, it is the opposite--the management is dealing with economic problems and plan fulfillment, the trade unions are coping with social questions. The party organization, along with the consolidation of its own ranks, has adopted as its main task the duty of restoring the workers' trust in the party.

Zbigniew Kochan has been working for as long as 20 years in this collective. He used to be a leader of a youth organization, he was foreman, head of a semiconductor production department, and now, for the last 3 years, he has been party secretary of the PZPR plant committee. "Party work has become difficult, very difficult," he says, but we understand that he is not complaining. Nevertheless, even if he had not uttered these words, he could not deny the physical exhaustion appearing on his face. "We have very little time left to prepare for the ninth extraordinary congress. The organization has already submitted its proposals to the Preparatory Committee of the congress. The discussion on innerparty work continues; it is still very sharp and agitated." "The main accent is now placed on the responsibility of each party member to the collective." This is what Jerzy Jaroch, secretary of the plant committee for propaganda, states.

How is the atmosphere within the collective?

This is a young collective. The average age is between 25-30 and 75 percent of the personnel are women. Most of them are members of Solidarity, but part of the workers are also members of the Metallurgical Workers Branch Committee.

Zbigniew Kochan states as follows in this connection: "Cooperation and not conflict are the characteristic features of relations between the individual organizations. Points of view differ on certain issues, but the program on work among the collective is being jointly worked out."

I met other workers from the Scientific-Production Center for Semiconductors. Adam Frankowski, for example, is a technological expert in the workshop for discrete elements. Alicja Straczowska is a brigade leader, working in the assembly department of the plant. She has been working here for as long as 22 years. Edward Bobel is a foreman. All three of them are PZPR members. I had a long and interesting conversation with them. I am just reporting a small portion of this conversation, but it is significant for the active stand of the common working people as regards events in this country.

Adam Frankowski says: The situation is tense indeed, and this is what the noisy, anti-socialist forces are taking advantage of. We submitted many problems to the Eighth PZPR Congress, but they were not resolved in a timely manner. The activity of the rank and file party members has changed tremendously. A great change has occurred during party meetings, people are now getting involved.

Edward Bobel says: It is high time to hold people responsible for their words and deeds. I do not like the trend followed by certain Solidarity leaders. It is a trade union movement, but, here and there, it is being used as an instrument of political struggle. The Saturdays off are not the true reason for the recent strikes, for example. However, people whose slogan is: "The worse the situation of the country, the better for us" are taking advantage of this.

Alicja Straczowska says: The disappointment is great, but strikes--these are losses for us. We will try to make up for part of the damages caused, and I am confident that we will be successful.

The collective of the Scientific-Production Center for Semiconductors has not fulfilled its January program. This has happened for the first time in many years. How will the situation be in February, and what about the future? This depends on a peaceful situation in the country and on the presevering efforts of each worker at his post. This is what the working people of Unitra are relying upon in their hopes, and this is what most people in Poland are hoping for.

POLISH GOVERNMENT-ECONOMIC DELEGATION ARRIVES

AU252034 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] A Polish Government-economic delegation led by Roman Malinowski, deputy chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, arrived in Bulgaria tonight to attend the 19th session of the Bulgarian-Polish Commission for Economic Cooperation. At Sofia Airport, the delegation was welcomed by Comrade Todor Bozhinov, Pando Vanchev, minister of communications, deputy ministers and other officials.

DOYNOV RECEIVES ROMANIAN LIGHT INDUSTRY MINISTER

AU242120 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Feb 81

[Text] Comrade Ognyan Doynov has received Lina Ciobanu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and Romanian minister of light industry, who is paying a friendly and working visit to Bulgaria.

BRIEFS

CEMENT PRODUCTION--Sofia, 19 Feb (BTA)--The Ministry of Construction and Building Materials approved the scheme of the ("Yuzhgiprotsement") Institute of Kharkov (USSR) for the development of the Bulgarian cement industry up to 1990. According to the scheme, the production of cement, which by last year's data amounts to 5,360,000 tons, will have to increase considerably in the new decade. New technological lines will be put in operation with two of the seven existing cement works in Bulgaria. [Sofia BTA in English 0813 GMT 19 Feb 81 AU]

## HUSAK ADDRESSES 24 FEB SESSION OF CPSU CONGRESS

For Prague and Moscow reports of the speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 24 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 25 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 037, Supp 002.

## LEADERS ATTEND VICTORIOUS FEBRUARY OBSERVANCES

### Officials at Prague Rally

LD252244 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Excerpt] The participants in today's festive rally in Prague welcomed with applause members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak; secretaries of the party Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin, Jindrich Polednik; members of the party Central Committee Secretariat Marie Kabrhelova, and Oldrich Svestka; chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission Miroslav Capka, and other representatives.

### Kempny Prague Address

LD252040 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1503 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Speech by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, at 25 February meeting in the Congress Hall of the Julius Fucik Park of Recreation and Culture in Prague at a festive rally of working people and youth to mark the 33d anniversary of the CSSR--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear friends, we are meeting at today's rally in order to recall the 33d anniversary of the February victory of the working class and other working people over reaction, when--under the leadership of our communist party headed by Klement Gottwald--our people put an end to the capitalist order and became the real master in their country. We are remembering the dramatic events in which the class fights for the political and social rights of the working people, for national freedom, state independence and the international security of our state, culminated. We are meeting at a time of the preparations for the 16th congress of our party. The vast interest and approval generated among the widest public by the address delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak at the district party conference in Kladno testifies to the fact that not only our party but all our working people express through their working activity and creative initiative their determination to struggle even more enthusiastically for the implementation of the general line of the construction of a developed socialist society. We are meeting at a time when, in Moscow, the 26th CPSU Congress, this famous Leninist party, is taking place.

We listened with the utmost attention to the address delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. It is a document of great historical importance as Comrade Gustav Husak said in his greetings address at the congress of Soviet communists; a document that provides a clear answer to the most pressing questions now concerning all of mankind. There is no doubt that just like the previous congresses, the 26th Congress, too, will enter the history of the international communist and workers' movement. It will amount to a significant contribution to the collective experiences of the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement. It will be a strengthening phenomenon for progress and peace forces all over the world.

The Central Committee report is a notable testimony to the successful course taken by the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people. Before the eyes of the whole world the CPSU is setting out a new program for an all-round social development of personality on the basis of an intensive development of the national economy, the raising of the productivity of social labor and the conscious activity of the Soviet people.

We are sending from our meeting our militant comradely greetings to the Soviet communists wishing the deliberation of their 26th congress every success. [applause]

We are voicing our full agreement and warm support for the constructive proposals, submitted on behalf of the Soviet people by Comrade Brezhnev, aimed at lessening international tension, curbing the feverish arms build-up and maintaining and strengthening peace. [applause]

We are proud that we belong to those who think like the Soviet communists and the Soviet people and who together with them in fraternal concord are building a new society and who are united with them in all political, economic, cultural and defense issues. Our alliance with the Soviet Union is a source of our revolutionary optimism. [applause]

Comrades, the struggle of the working class and the working people in general for overthrowing the domination by the exploiting classes and the establishment of a new, socially just order culminated in the February victory. The process of the transformation of the national and democratic revolution into the socialist revolution was completed and the dictatorship of the proletariat set up. The question of the foreign orientation of Czechoslovakia toward alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union was resolved definitely. February fully paved the way to socialism, and the working class, together with all working people, was able to develop its creative force of liberated labor.

February 1948 became a historic landmark in the development of our peoples and its example and behest is for us a mighty source of revolutionary inspiration in fulfilling the tasks of socialist construction. It emphasizes our internationalist duties in consolidating the world socialist community and strengthening its unity.

Following the victory in February the CPCZ faced the problem of building a new social system. These were tasks of a new quality which were far more complex then those we had ever faced in the past. The road we chose was not easy and it was not paved with successes alone. It demanded a great deal of sacrifice, enthusiasm and unbreakable willpower from our people. Soviet experience was a reliable help for us as well as the help from the fraternal socialist countries. We found out for ourselves that the unity, enthusiasm and responsibility of communists and their alliance with the people were of immense significance. In this respect, too, February 1948 remains a source of lessons and inspiration for the present and future.

The implementation of the behest of February was exposed to a severe trial in 1968 when reactionary forces attempted to liquidate the revolutionary achievements created by February and by socialist construction. The right-wingers went over to counterrevolutionary positions; they strove to crush the party from within, to liquidate its leading role, to paralyze the socialist state and subvert the national economy and to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They felt that their greatest obstacle was our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. And it was again the Soviet Union which came to our rescue at the right moment and created the conditions for the activation of the sound forces in our party and society. [applause]

The new party leadership, headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, launched a consistent struggle against counterrevolution. After the speedy political and economic consolidation a program of all-round socialist development, adopted by the absolute majority of society, was passed.

Just as Comrade Klement Gottwald remarked after the February victory, so, too, can we say of the defeat of the conterrevolution of 1968: If there are any positive features in such strong clashes they are, above all, that the defeat of reaction affects the whole of society like a purifying tempest and in no way does the discharge emanating from it slow down the gaining of self-confidence, but, rather, speeds it up paving the way for all that is new, for more challenging tasks of socialist construction.

On the basis of the social and economic program of the 14th congress our society has set out toward an even more dynamic upsurge, and, after the successful completion of its conclusions, the 15th congress further elaborated a program of building an advanced socialist society.

Since February 1948 we have made substantial progress in all sectors of socialist construction. In 1980 the national revenue was more than six times higher than in 1948; productivity of social labor was five times higher; industrial production is more than 11 times higher, including engineering which is almost 30 times higher; agricultural production is twice as high, its market production four times higher.

In addition to the social certainties which are a matter of course under socialism, and most significant against the background of the world-wide workers' movement--such as the eradication of exploitation of man by man and unemployment, the guaranteed rights to work and to education, to all-round medical services, a tranquil old age--the humane character of our social policy is reflected primarily in care for the most valuable possession of man, in care for his health. One of the most significant components of our social policy is help for large families. While in 1970 Kcs 20 billion were earmarked for all types of social assistance to large families, last year this sum reached almost Kcs 33 billion. In the past 10 years we improved even further the system of social and old age pensions.

In addition to guaranteeing these fundamental aspects of living standards which we are covering from our social funds, the financial income of the population has increased steadily accompanied by an overall price stability of basic commodities.

During the period of our socialist construction the overall volume of personal consumption has increased more than fourfold. This all bears witness to the fact that our principal programmatic demand is and will remain: Everything for man, everything for his well-being.

The fulfillment of the intentions of our social and economic policy is now much more demanding than previously. New problems and circumstances have arisen which call for qualitatively new approaches and methods of work. We have to reckon with much harder conditions for our external economic relations as with a long-term, objective reality. The whole world is wrestling with such problems, but, of course, at different levels. We talk about them with full frankness and with all emphasis in order to turn the attention of the whole of our party, of all working people, in order to speed up their solution. In no case can they, however, be compared with those problems that are sending tremors throughout the economy of the Western countries: the ups and downs of the markets, the growing unemployment, inflation, the growth of competition, economic speculation, fraud--the true picture of the contemporary capitalist economy.

In confronting this, even more conspicuous is the importance of the scientific, technical and economic cooperation within the framework of the CEMA countries and especially with the Soviet Union, which for us means the stability of our national economy, the planned securing of the necessary resources and market for our products. For us as a manufacturing country the importation of the necessary raw materials is essential. It is necessary to appreciate fully that we are purchasing the overwhelming part of raw materials from the Soviet Union substantially cheaper and more advantageously than if we had to purchase them on the nonsocialist markets. This includes crude oil, natural gas, iron ore, nonferrous metals and other raw materials. This all bears testimony to the great internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union to us as well as to other socialist countries. It is therefore our duty to prepare, in good time and at planned dates, to deliver to the Soviet Union such products, such export articles, having high utility value and thus satisfying as best as possible its requirements.

The problem of securing fuels, raw materials and energy is more difficult and costly not only in the world but also here, at home.

For this reason the standing order facing present-day production is a highly rational and optimal utilization of all resources and the attainment of the biggest final economic effect with the lowest possible costs in terms of labor and other resources.

The growing exactingness of external economic conditions must not conceal the fact, as Comrade Husak stressed at a district party conference, that we have to analyze positively, above all, our own internal, subjective causes, all those causes where the remedy is fully within our own powers. These causes lie above all in the more consistent realization of the party's strategic line aimed at a higher effectiveness and quality of all work, at a more effective utilization of domestic sources and possibilities of our national economy. Every step forward, the attainment of every percentage of growth in production and living standards is substantially more difficult not only in its volume but also its quality. The most important, as well as the most complicated, thing is, however, the fact that these higher tasks in production have to be secured with only minimal increments of manpower, investment, raw materials, fuels and energy. The only path toward this is a turn toward the intensive development of the national economy. We have to wean our production within a short period from extensive development and intensify it consistently. This is a great revolutionary task, linked to a far higher degree with the applied sciences, with the introduction of a more advanced technology, a higher concentration and specialization of production, the development of long-term structures, the improvement of planned management and the intensification of working people's participation in management and administration.

We are talking about intensification, especially, in connection with the economic sector of our society, but at issue is the task which concerns all spheres of social life, all aspects of the development of man--the environment in which he lives and works. Above all, we have to realize, all of us and particularly those who direct the activity of any working collective, that in order to solve our present-day problems and further the development of our economy the key course to be pursued is by way of the wide development and utilization of science and technology, and by establishing a close link between science and production. Science and technology are of special significance for resolving our biggest internal problems. The exporting capacity of our manufacturing sector is closely linked with the optimal utilization of resources. At the same time, it constitutes a strategic necessity in solving fundamental questions and opening big possibilities for further social development in the realization of the historic tasks of the working class, such as the gradual overcoming of social differences and the building of a classless society.

The securing of optimal production and scientific and technological development exceeds in many ways the possibilities of our individual national economies. Within our own national economy cooperation with the socialist countries has been fulfilling an important role since 1948. Today socialist economic integration is for us a question of vital importance, and, particularly, scientific, technological and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is of special significance for our economic development. Scientific and technological development and international integration of production--these are the mainstays of the further development of the national economy. They also determine the character of the future 5-year plan period which we have entered. The issue is to ensure that the Seventh 5-Year Plan is a 5-year plan of high effectiveness and quality, a 5-year plan of scientific and technological development, a 5-year plan of cooperation and specialization of production with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Comrades, as in the whole area of domestic policy, so in foreign policy the Soviet Union, as the mightiest power within the socialist community and the world peace movement, is the guarantor of our national freedom and state sovereignty.

We actively support the peace offensive of the Soviet Union. We regard the protection of world peace, that most valuable treasure of mankind today, as the key issue of our foreign policy. We proceed from the premise that the concept of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is the only sensible alternative in world developments.

Thanks to the steady growth of the economic and defense potential of world socialism, thanks to the consolidation of the positions of all revolutionary and democratic forces, the further weakening of the positions of imperialism, there is not only a real possibility of averting a new world war in the present epoch but conditions are being created for its ultimate elimination from the life of mankind. And so, even the reactionary imperialist forces are aware that the process of detente creates scope for future changes in the overall balance of power in favor of peace and progress.

That is why they have intensified their effort to halt or at least to put a brake on this process and launched an overt attack against the policy of detente. They are concentrating their primary onslaught on jeopardizing the military and strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, between NATO and the Warsaw Pact with the aim of gaining unilateral military advantages. They are stepping up their policy of blackmail and intimidation vis-a-vis the socialist countries and especially against the Soviet Union as the major force of our socialist community.

Chinese hegemonism, too, has adopted this platform. We never had any illusions about the true face of world imperialism. We always said quite openly that in a class-divided world two contradictory tendencies would be warring with each other on the basis of the mutual balance of power, both proceeding objectively from the irreconcilibility of weltanschauung and class objectives of two world systems.

The important thing to examine is the ways and means of solving these contradictions--whether by way of immense suffering of the peoples and endangering the very existence of humanity, or by way of mutual competition in the economy, politics or ideology. This is the cardinal question facing all peoples which must be decided before it is too late.

The socialist nations are doing everything for the preservation of peace, and their greatest aspiration today is to bring about definite disarmament, and, above all, the eradication of all weapons of mass destruction. If we are compelled to build up our forces of military defense at the expense of developing our countries and the peoples' living standards then the only reason is that imperialism will not hesitate for one moment to attack the socialist states. That is why we cannot tolerate a change in the conditions of the balance of forces in the world.

As Comrade Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress--and I quote: We never strove for and neither do we strive for military superiority over another side. This is not our policy. But neither shall we tolerate such a superiority being gained over us. Just like attempts to deal with us from a position of strength, such attempts stand no chance whatever. These are the words of Comrade Brezhnev and we entirely agree. [applause]

World imperialism endeavors with every available means to weaken the socialist community. Political, ideological and economic subversion, together with various subversive provocative campaigns, is being conducted against our countries. Various actions are being carried out with the aim of disrupting the foundations of the socialist system and weakening the mutual internationalist ties between the states of the socialist community, especially the bonds with the Soviet Union.

This is borne out also by the organized attempts at the disruption of the socialist system in the Polish People's Republic. In order to understand their positions it is necessary to recall our lessons from the crisis-ridden development in the party and society after the 13th congress.

The crisis-ridden period in Czechoslovakia clearly demonstrated how negative in its consequences is tolerance of an alien ideology or an inadequate fight against it, the consequences of underestimating ideological work, nationalism, the rejection of proletarian internationalism and the rejection of the experiences of the CPSU. Just as in our country in 1968, the problem in Poland is above all the weakening of the unity of the party and its influence on the masses. Everything that upsets the socialist political system and is an expression of its destruction is being presented by the enemies of socialism as a development of some sort of democracy and freedom. We are convinced that the last session of the Central Committee of Polish communists and the Sejm, will be a watershed in developments to date and that the healthy forces of the PZPR and Polish people will assume decisive influence and will start a decisive and offensive progress against the forces of counterrevolution. [applause]

In this the Polish comrades can fully rely on our fraternal help and the help of all countries of the socialist community. [prolonged applause]

Comrade Brezhnev was speaking at the 26th congress on our behalf, too: No one can doubt our joint determination to defend our interest and protect the socialist achievements of the nations. [applause]

Comrades: In the program for the development of our society, the party has devoted its prime attention to the national economy as the basis for development of all other areas of social life. The demanding tasks of economic and social development can be realized only by common active work, by a united organization and education with the aim of ensuring that all of us, from the top to the bottom, pull, so to speak, in one direction. This is why it is so important that people know and understand the tasks we have set before ourselves. In this respect, too, lessons from the work of our party along its path to Victorious February and Gottwald's slogan "Facing the Masses" serve as an example and a source from which to draw. [applause]

The all-round development of people's initiative and activity, its enormous economic and political significance, is demonstrated in the large-scale socialist competition in honor of the 16th congress of our party. As Comrade Husak said at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, and I quote: Millions of people in our country have a genuine interest in seeing that things are advanced continually and turned for the better and they want to make an appropriate contribution to this. Their awareness and activity are the main source of the strength of our socialist system, so said Comrade Husak.

We regard the broadly-based economic and social activity of citizens and of all organizations of the National Front with which they are welcoming important political events--such as the 16th congress of our communist party, the 26th congress of Soviet communists, the elections to the representative bodies at all levels and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ--as an expression of trust and real support for the party's policy--as a confirmation of the fact that it is an understandable and attractive policy and that the overwhelming majority of our working people links with the construction of an advanced socialist society both their present and future, their work and life, their hopes and perspectives. People trust the party and the party answers by serving the interests of the people through its whole activity.

Sixty years of CPCZ work and struggles are a testimony of its loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the working class and all working people, of its ability to guide them successfully, overcoming all the difficulties and obstacles, to the victory of socialism and communism. Without the party there would not have been the Victorious February. The party is the first and fundamental prerequisite of the successful building of a socialist society as well as a guarantee that we shall not be diverted from the socialist path. [applause]

The requirement for the party's leading role grows even more with the development of socialist society.

The more developed our society is, the more demanding are the political, economic and ideological tasks and hence the more urgent the need to strengthen the party's leading role within society and its all-round application. We do not regard unity between the party and the people as something given forever. Such unity is deepened and strengthened by the activity of not merely the party itself but also by the activity of the entire socialist political system.

That is why our party is anxious for the mass organizations to take an all-round part in the formulation and implementation of socialist policy. In this, the National Front and organizations rallied within its ranks, harmonizing the specific interests of various groups and sections of the working people with those of society as a whole, are of increasing importance and are playing an increasingly significant role. All this gives every citizen the possibility of complete political and social assertion in accordance with his or her interests, powers and abilities. We are convinced that the economic and social program to be adopted by the 16th congress of our party will become an immense unifying force and platform of the broadest sections of the people in this year's elections as well as a long-term orientation of their labor activity and creative initiative.

Comrades, we have all the necessary conditions for attaining our objective, namely building an advanced socialist society. But we must take better advantage and improve the quality of our powerful technical base, develop our productive forces, make use of the high standard of education, qualification and activity of the people. We know what we want. We have a scientifically founded program and our entire society has its Communist Party of Czechoslvakia, tested in many battles. [applause]

We have a mature working class, cooperative farmers and an intelligentsia. [applause] We are not alone and our strength is multiplied by our cooperation with the CEMA member states and above all with the Soviet Union. [applause]

We are a firm component of the mighty force of the community of socialist states. We draw inspiration and lessons from the fraternal CPSU, and, following its example, we intend to work tirelessly for peace and progress in the world. [applause]

That is how things have always been here and that is how things will continue. Today, too, we fully endorse Klement Gottwald's historic closing speech at the party's Central Committee session in November 1948 when he said: We have--and this is not negligible--the sincere wish to continue our loyal service to the cause of the people, the nation and the state, and bring this cause of the people, the nation and the state to a final and glorious victory. [applause]

So, long live the working people of Czechoslovakia and its communist party! [applause]

May the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic continue to flourish! [applause]

Long live the USSR and its Leninist CPSU! [applause]

May the forces of democracy, socialism and peace throughout the world continue to grow! [applause]

## Hruskovic at Bratislava

LD252320 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Today citizens of Bratislava and the working people and youth of the West Slovak Region marked at a rally held in Bratislava the 33d anniversary of the February victory, which was the culmination of the struggle of the working class and the working people to overthrow the domination of the exploiting class and the establishment of a new, socially just order.

The festive rally was attended by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium: Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, Peter Colotka, Slovak premier, and other representatives of our political and public life.

A gala address was delivered by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, who said, among other things:

[Begin recording] We have gathered at a place where 33 years ago workers from Bratislava factories, participants in the antifascist struggle, the entire progressive public of our city reacted sharply to the attempts of counterrevolutionary forces to halt the process of the broadening and consolidation of working class power and to reestablish the power of the bourgeoisie.

We remain loyal to the legacy of the February days and guard it in building an advanced socialist society. We are not immodest in our belief that our experiences from February 1948 have also had international ramifications, coupled with those events in the 1968-69 period whose aim was the reversal of the outcome of our February achievements. This involves especially the realization of the fact that no class that has been overthrown has ever definitely given up its demands and abandoned its efforts to restore its own economic and political power. As our experiences testify, this happens in a situation where violations of the Leninist principles governing our party's activity occur where the generally valid laws governing the construction of socialism have been abandoned or where they have not been consistently respected, where revolutionary vigilance is on the retreat and where the leading role of the party has been generally weakened which in turn has thus opened up a revival of the attempts at the self-restoration of the power of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle of the working class in our country 33 years ago was a historic path paved by innumerable class and power clashes. It fulilled the purpose of life of thousands of the most conscious members of the working class, whose aim was the true reshaping of the world, a world without exploitation, without poverty and suffering. The experiences from February and from the years that ensued confirm that the power of the working class and its systematic strengthening is the outcome of the total of the basic factors. Among them, in the first place, is the consistent application of the leading position of the communist party.

The February experiences have been translated into the every day political education work of our communist party. They have become the revolutionary property of our people. They have been an indispensable factor in the socialist construction of our society for more than 30 years. Of them, the party's unity and its ties with the people are something which must not be weakened even for one moment, which must be strengthened and deepened systematically when fulfilling specific tasks. Today we are doing so in an especially important situation, when our people, under the leadership of the communist party, are taking stock of the results of their work in fulfilling the tasks of building an advanced socialist society, as formulated by the last party congresses. Every day we see the work of our workers, technicians, cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia, tackling complex tasks, carrying out demanding work, raising their performance and developing new and better forms of work. These have been born from the enormous initiative of the Soviet people during the first Soviet 5-year plans and have become a reliable tool for our working people since February 1948.

In such an atmosphere filled with expressions of our people's loyalty to the outcome of February 1948, now projected into building an advanced socialist society, communists and working citizens are awaiting the deliberation of the CPSL congress. These are expressions of the warm attitude to the CPCZ, whose birth 60 years ago was motivated by one aim: to build a new, socialist society along the path determined by the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this sense we shall work honestly for the realization of the CPCZ policy, which engineered the February victory of the working people, for the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, guarantor of world peace and our most faithful friend, for the prosperity of our Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [applause] [end recording]

## Wreath Laying at Gottwald Tomb

LD251124 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] A commemorative ceremony to mark the 33d anniversary of Victorious February was held today in the Central Hall of the National Memorial on Zhivkov Hill in Prague.

At the tomb of Klement Gottwald, outstanding representative of the CPCZ and the international communist movement, a joint wreath from the CPCZ Central Committee, the president of the Republic, the Federal Government, the Federal Assembly, and the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, was laid by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Karel Hoffmann, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny and Josef Korcak; by secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik; by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Marie Kabrhelova and Oldrich Svestka; and by chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission Miroslav Capka.

Other wreaths in honor of the memory of Klement Gottwald were laid by representatives of the political parties and social organizations of the National Front, representatives of our armed forces, and other political and public representatives.

## CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS PLENUM CONTINUES

LD251620 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] The 11th Central Council of Trade Unions Plenum, continuing today in Prague, discussed improvements in the working conditions of women. The meeting also discussed raising the effectiveness of trade union education and the development of free-time artistic activity.

Viliam Kozik, Central Council of Trade Unions secretary, stressed in his address the significance of the trade unionists' financial support, which constitutes an important form of international aid to those who need it in the developing and capitalist countries. He recalled that the report delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress again stressed the topicality of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Council of Trade Unions chairman, then presented the representatives of the West Bohemia Regional Trade Union Council with the banner of solidarity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The resolution adopted at the 11th Central Council of Trade Unions Plenum says the fundamental task and starting point of the educational influence of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement was everyday contact with the working people in solving concrete political and economic tasks.

## HULA HOLDS COOPERATION TALKS WITH HUNGARY'S MARJAI

LD252330 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Prague, 25 Feb (CETEKA)--Vaclav Hula, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and deputy prime minister, met here Wednesday with Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, who leads the Hungarian delegation to the 17th session of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

In their talks, the two representatives informed each other of present results and further tasks of the development of national economies in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They appreciated the development of economic relations between the two countries and pointed out the importance of such forms as specialization and cooperation in production. They appraised the coordination of national-economic plans of the two countries for 1981-1985.

HONECKER ADDRESSES 24 FEB SESSION OF CPSU CONGRESS

For East Berlin and Moscow reports of the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the 24 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 25 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 037, Supp 002.

USSR EMBASSY GIVES RECEPTION ON ARMED FORCES DAY

AU251220 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 81 p 11

[ADN report: "Reception at USSR Embassy: 63d Anniversary of Soviet Armed Forces Commemorated: Close Affinity With National People's Army Members Manifested"]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"On the 63d anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy Rear Adm Mikhayl Lyshchin, military, naval and air attache at the USSR Embassy in the GDR, gave a reception in Berlin on Monday. The hosts cordially welcomed at the Embassy residence SED Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, Horst Dohlus, Gerhard Grueneberg, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, Werner Krolikowski, Army Gen Erich Mielke, Harry Tisch and Paul Verner, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz and Inge Lange."

The invitation also was honored by Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; Manfred Flegel and Hans Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee and members of the Council of Ministers including Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; members of the People's Chamber Presidium and of the State Council and GDR deputy defense ministers including Col Gen Heinz Kessler and Col Gen Fritz Streletz; as well as by other generals and officers of the armed forces and other personalities.

Present on the Soviet side were Minister Viktor Beletskiy, USSR charge d'affaires ad interim. Lt Gen Vyacheslav Gordiyenko, first deputy commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany [GSSD]; Col Gen Dmitriy Grinkevich, GSSD chief of staff; Army Gen Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states to the GDR; and other generals and officers of the Soviet Army." Also present were heads of diplomatic missions and military and defense attaches.

In his toast Rear Admiral Lyshchin noted that this year's armed forces anniversary is marked by the 26th CPSU Congress and underscored the close affinity between the Soviet soldiers and their comrades-in-arms in the NVA.

ARMY COMMEMORATES COMRADESHIP-IN-ARMS WEEK

AU251210 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 81 p 11

[ADN report: "Traditional Week of Comradeship-in-Arms Opened: Cultural and Sports Events in Troop Units"]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"Multifaceted cultural and sports activities in National People's Army [NVA] units and formations over the weekend have marked the start of the traditional 'comradeship-in-arms week' in the NVA's jubilee year."

An exhibition of photographs of a People's Navy work group was opened at the army house in Rostock. Members of the units named for Bernhard Baestlein and for Horst Jonas presented cultural programs and a recitation contest was held at the noncommissioned officers school named for Kurt Benewitz.

"The eighth traditional sport-shooting competition united some 180 members of the NVA, the Soviet Army and the Society for Sports and Technology."

DEFENSE MINISTER AWARDS UNITS, ARMY MEMBERS

AU251245 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 81 p 11

[ADN report: "High Decorations Awarded to Units and Members of the National People's Army; Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann Conferred Awards at Defense Ministry"]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--"On Monday, on the 25th anniversary of the National People's Army [NVA], Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, awarded high state decorations and promoted officers. In doing so he expressed his appreciation for the exemplary activities of many years of army members and military collectives in enhancing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the NVA as well as in deepening the comprehensive cooperation and comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other allied armed forces.

"At a festive event in the Defense Ministry he conferred the honorary title of 'Meritorious NVA Member' inter alia, on Lt Gens Horst Bruenner, Ernst Hampf and Horst Skerra, Vice Adm Wilhelm Nordin, Col Friedrich Just, Lt Col Manfred Helmuth, Maj Helmut Heinrich and Senior Ensign Berhard Tonn. The title of 'Meritorious GDR Military Pilot' was awarded to Col Klaus Dieter Bienek, Lt Cols Karl-Heinz Jandik and Joachim Tetzel, Comdr Manfredt Arndt and other officers. NVA generals, admirals, officers, ensigns and noncommissioned officers received the combat order "for merits on behalf of people and the fatherland."

For the first time the defense minister awarded to NVA units "exemplary regiment" banner streamers and the combat order "for merits on behalf of people and the fatherland" in gold. These went to the units named for Theodor Winter, Peter Lamberz, Hermann Danz, Robert Uhrig, Leo Jogiches, Wilhelm Florin, Berhard Baestlein, Fritz Schmenkel, and Harro Schulze-Boysen as well as to the People's Navy units of Comdrs Lothar Schmidt and Lutz Schultze.

OFFICIALS ADDRESS SED DELEGATES CONFERENCES

Dohlus at Frankfurt

DW251622 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1839 GMT 22 Feb 81

[Excerpt from speech by Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee Politburo member, at the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk SED delegates conference--recorded]

[Text] What matters in the next few weeks is to continue the comprehensive party congress discussion with militant optimism and on a high political level, to deepen the dialogue between the party and the people, to strengthen their relationship of confidence and their unity and to awaken new initiatives for the further consistent implementation of our main tasks.

The orientation and yardstick to this end are the fundamental speeches by Comrade Erich Honecker in Gera and at the Berlin Bezirk delegates conference, as well as the decisions of the 13th SED Central Committee Plenum. They make it clear at the same time that the 10th party congress will assume a special place in the history of the SED and initiate a new phase in the continuous implementation of our party program.

In this connection we may rely on an outstanding balance sheet which we will take into the 10th party congress. It is the most successful balance sheet scored in the history of our party and of our country, and it forms a stable foundation for our further tasks.

What is and remains the most important aspect in this respect is the fact that the workers class under the leadership of our party has consistently implemented its political power in the alliance with the class of the LPG peasants, the intelligentsia and the other working people, in the interest of the whole people, and continues to enhance this power.

Nobody has been allowed, or will ever be allowed, to play with this power or even to touch it. It is the very merit of our party that it has always correctly assessed this basic question of revolution, drew conclusions in all stages of our struggle and also knew how to enforce them.

Comrades, relying on what has been attained, it is now important to cope with the greater requirements of the eighties, to further fulfill the program of our party and to insure and gradually enhance the material and cultural standard of living of the people through a high performance level. [applause]

Neumann at Wismut

DW251557 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 2042 GMT 22 Feb 81

[Excerpt from speech by Alfred Neumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at the delegates conference of the Wismut Bezirk SED organization, place not specified--recorded]

[Text] This delegates conference has adopted unequivocal positions toward the further deepening of the solid class alliance between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR and all other states of the socialist community. Surely I am speaking on behalf of all of you when I state from this rostrum that the communists and all citizens of our country watch with great attention how the working people of the Soviet Union have prepared for the 26th congress of their Leninist party. With all our hearts we wish our Soviet class comrades a successful course of their 26th party congress. [applause]

We anticipate from our fraternal party new, powerful impulses for the activation of the struggle of all peoples, for the revolutionary renewal of this world, and for the international relaxation of tensions. The first secretary of the bezirk executive board, Comrade Rohde, and several speakers during the discussion proved that the Wismut industrial branch has a material-technical and intellectual potential whose reserves can be opened even more effectively by means of intensification and rationalization. With the aim of further developing favorably the ratio of performance and production input, accumulation and consumption, we must better utilize everywhere science and technology combined with a first-rate work and production organization so as to achieve within a short period of time the required higher development stage of rationalization of all social working processes.

To gain new dimensions in mobilizing such reserves in order to spread the final results of this process requires that we fundamentally improve the input-output ratio in all economic branches before the end of 1981. On this also hinges the higher quality of the leadership work by our party. [applause]

Krolikowski at Potsdam

DW251629 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1852 GMT 22 Feb 81

[Excerpt from speech by SED Central Committee Politburo member Werner Krolikowski, at the Potsdam Bezirk SED delegates conference--recorded]

[Text] Comrades, if we ask what the main characteristic feature is at present of the revolutionary daily life in the GDR, then your bezirk delegates conference has given a convincing answer to that question, for this characteristic feature consists of the fact that workers and LPG peasants, scientists and teachers, artistic and cultural personnel, the personnel of the trade sector and of the public health sector, the members of the National People's Army and the members of the other protective and security organs alike, all the people of our country, led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are sacrificing and very creatively implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress under the slogan: "The Best for the 10th Party Congress--Everything for the Good of the People."

All these people are properly approaching the 10th SED Congress with the hitherto mass movement of socialist competition.

The reason why is simple. The GDR citizens perform outstanding work because our Marxist-Leninist party with is policy of the main task, the unity of economic and social polciy, and its untriing struggle for safeguarding and consolidating peace most profoundly complies with the vital interests of the people, the requirements of all mankind for peace, prosperity and social well-being.

Thus, our Marxist-Leninist party pursues a trustworthy policy. And what is the upshot of this policy? The SED possesses the confidence of the workers class and of the overwhelming majority of the working people of the GDR. It is their recognized, aware and organized vanguard.

Owing to the activities of the party, the class awareness of the workers class, and the socialist state awareness of the citizens has consolidated and strengthened. The GDR by both constitution and deed is a socialist state which is supported by the loyalty of its citizens and their readiness and ability to continuously strengthen it and defend it at any time. [applause]

The friendship with the Soviet Union is a matter of the heart to the citizens of our country, and it has become the firm conviction of the vast majority of our people that the GDR belong to the victors of history because it is allied for time eternal with the party of the great Lenin, with the glorious Soviet Union.

## Krenz at Interior Ministry

AU251811 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 81 p 5

[Werner Twarog and Joachim Postelt report on the conference of the SED organization at the GDR Ministry of the Interior: "Egon Krenz at the Conference of the Interior Ministry: The Class Assignment in the Service to the People Will Be Fulfilled Any Time"--date not given]

[Excerpt] Egon Krenz, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the GDJ Central Council, conveyed the gratitude of the Central Committee and General Secretary Erich Honecker for the high awareness of political responsibility and the personal dedication of comrades in the organs of the Interior Ministry. In his statement, which was received with great approval, Egon Krenz stressed: "The dictatorship of the proletariat and its development in keeing with the current requirements of the socialist revolution, are the decisive tool for ensuring the working people's interests any time and hour." The experiences gained in the political struggle for the inviolability of our worker-peasant power teach us that the authority and firmness of the socialist state power are substantially based on the communist passion and steadfastness of all comrades in the protection and security organs. "When today we are able to proceed from the fact that a relationship of trust exists," he stated, "between the population of our republic, the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior, a relationship characterized by respect and mutual support, this undoubtedly is part and parcel of the historic achievements of our party in our country's history."

### High Revolutionary Vigilance

Egon Krenz spoke in detail about the factors which determine further consolidation of the forces of socialism and peace throughout the world, as well as about the identity of socialism and peace. He proved that the exacerbating confrontation course of imperialism is an expression of its historical defense and at the same time constitutes the real cause for sharper negative trends in international events now than at earlier times.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that the FRG today belongs to the political and economic backbone of the military-industrial complex of international capital. "Located at the juncture of the two opposite societal systems," he concluded from this, "We bear a great responsibility for the stability and security of the entire socialist community."

Egon Krenz explained in detail the requirements levied on the organs of the Interior Ministry in the eighties that result from the further advancement of the developed socialist society. "All of us agree that accomplishing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy is immediately linked with a more and more conscious attitude of the working people toward socialist property, and with responsibly dealing with all those things that we have obtained through our work. This is why great importance is attached to your work for preserving national property and for reducing the losses caused by fires, breakdowns and disturbances." In conclusion, he expressed the certainty that the ministry collective of communists will continue in the future to reliably make their further contribution to the all-round strengthening and securing of worker-peasant power.

FISCHER MEETS CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

LD252242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 25 Feb (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer on Wednesday received the deputy under secretary in the Canadian Ministry of External Affairs, Jean Touchette.

In the course of the discussion, which proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere, it was unanimously noted that the relations between the GDR and Canada, which are developing positively, should be extended further on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence for the benefit of both sides.

In the course of the exchange of views Oskar Fischer stressed that in view of the acute international situation, great importance is attached to the continuation of a constructive political dialogue in the interests of safeguarding and continuing the process of detente as well as arms limitation and disarmament.

Oskar Fischer emphasized that the GDR is actively working for a positive outcome of the Madrid conference. He regretted that representatives of some Western states fail to cooperate actively in Madrid. The GDR regards a decision to convene a European conference on military detente and disarmament as particularly important and opportune. This calls for political commonsense and realism on the part of all participating states.

During his stay in the GDR Jean Touchette had a meeting with State Secretary Dr Gerhard Beil of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In the course of their discussion both sides expressed their readiness to develop their trade relations and to establish the necessary intergovernmental contractual basis.

Jean Touchette is in the GDR for official consultations at the invitation of Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier. The two sides discussed the state and the prospect of the relations between the two states and exchanged views on current international questions.

BACKGROUND OF SPANISH COUP ATTEMPT CONSIDERED

DW251551 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1546 GMT 24 Feb 81

[Hermann Burghardt commentary]

[Text] The occupation of [the Spanish] Parliament by armed civil guards, the deprival of the government's and the people's representatives of power, the proclamation of a general as chief of state--although for a limited period only--all this mercilessly discloses the grave crisis in which the country finds itself 5 years after Franco's death. The Madrid events are just a new escalation. The attempted coup has domestic and foreign policy backgrounds.

Since the government of the Center Union, the reformist party consisting mainly of former Franco followers seeking a democratic opening and the modernization of Spanish society in order to catch up with West European economy and [word indistinct] gave up cooperation with the two big leftist parties its way has led to the right. It was more concerned about setting up a credible democratic facade rather than creating a real although just bourgeoise democracy.

It tries in vain through conservative slogans to fight the economic crisis and to relieve inflation and unemployment. The regional autonomy problem was solved only half-heartedly. The government did not bring the political terror of the ultrarightists as well as the ultraleftists under control. The Suarez cabinet failed and resigned. It turned out that the old police unit which Franco had set up to defend the dictatorship as well as the whole state administration with all the means of Fascist terror acted just as before as if nothing had changed.

The death of ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] prisoner Jose Arregui after terrible torturing by security police inspectors was an alarm signal. When the government dealt with the culprits more harshly than usual, some 1,500 inspectors of the information brigade started a go-slow strike and 200 offered their resignations. It was a true uproar, demonstrating that the police does not subordinate themselves to democratic state discipline. It reminds one of the 1936 events before the generals staged the revolt against the republic.

While parliament was electing its new government chief, Lieutenant Colonel Tejero, known for his Francoist attitude, became active, and the commander in chief of the Valencia military area, General Milans del Bosch, announced his intention to liquidate the political system and become Franco's successor.

One cannot avoid taking into consideration the recent policy of the United States in connection with this act of rebellion in Spain, particularly since U.S. President Reagan received the South Korean president in Washington with high honors, a man accused in the whole world of mass murder and who thoroughly eliminated all the beginnings of democracy in his country. Ultrarightist elements in Spain undoubtedly concluded that the U.S. Government is prepared to cooperate with every regime which offers a guarantee of loyalty in the framework of its aggravated war policy. The putschists in Madrid felt encouraged. King Juan Carlos, however, became active, stopping the zeal of the generals. First, because he does not intend, like his Bourbon predecessor Alfons XIII, to link his political fate with that of a dictator whose fall would throw him down as well. Second, the king is an advocate of the Franco reformers. They have strengthened his position. They pursue the buildup of a modern capitalist state which tries to anchor itself firmly in the imperialist camp, in the EEC and in NATO.

The open fight between two rivaling groupings of the ruling class taking place at present, is quite dangerous for the reformers. Trade Unions as well as leftist parties have clearly demonstrated their determination to fight decisively for the defense of those democratic rights they have achieved since the death of Franco.

MICROELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE IN WEST NOTED

LD251216 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0936 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 25 Feb (ADN)--In leading imperialist countries an almost perfect and inconspicuous surveillance system has been built up in recent years through the misuse of microelectronics. The GDR Institute for International Politics and Trade (IPW) comes to the conclusion in the February edition of its IPW report.

In the United States 3.9 billion files on American citizens are stored in the electronic systems of 92 federal institutions. The United States' spy system is also increasingly acquiring international dimensions. For example, the National Security Agency (NSA) runs a listening center north of London, together with the British state organizations, which keeps under surveillance and checks a large proportion of the telephone and telex traffic between West Europe and North America.

In Great Britain, at the beginning of 1979, data on 39 million British citizens was stored in the computer centers of the secret services. That means that a file exists on every adult citizen in the country, the IPW report notes.

The FRG stores collections of data on individuals. The federal and land criminal investigation offices of the FRG have at their disposal more than 18 central computers with well over 1,000 stations. This enables information to be exchanged between the federal border protection force, the secret services, the state prosecutors, the customs crime institute, the finance authorities, the Ministry of Defense, the police and other institutions of the Ministry of the Interior. This "tight dragnet" is due to be further improved by 1985.

The IPW report refers to the background to the development of a "transparent society." With the increase in areas of conflict in imperialist territories, apart from the organized working class and its revolutionary party, increasingly large new levels of society are drawn into political arguments and democratic activities: citizens' actions groups, trade unions, members of the intelligentsia and of environmental protection groups, even deputies and working groups from bourgeois and social democratic parties. All this, in the view of the secret services, requires an increasingly large, and at the same time even more "unobtrusive," surveillance apparatus on the principle: Everyone is suspect.

In this way inactivity and political apathy are to be created and the citizens are frightened away from participation in democratic actions. As a result of this an atmosphere of mistrust, hypocrisy and cunning, a climate of silence, self-observation, insincerity and deliberate conformity has developed.

MUSCH ON NEED FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF PLANTS

DW251608 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0907 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Herbert Musch, GDR deputy minister for construction, stressed the need for intensified reconstruction of plants rather than expensive new construction. In an interview he pointed to studies which show that material consumption in modernization work was 40 percent lower than in building comparable new facilities. Other advantages are that reconstruction can take place during continuous production and that idle hours can be shortened.

Together with plants and research institutes, the building academy has presented a practical solution for the modernization of the Bitterfeld chemistry combine. It plans, among other things, to use prefabricated parts in roof construction work with the same work productivity as in new construction. For the hitherto most expensive replacement of sewage systems in chemical plants, plastic pipes will be used in the future to reduce construction time by more than 50 percent. Minister Musch said that with these and other measures the possibility exists this year that at more than 800 industrial constuction sites in the GDR construction costs will be cut by an additional 5 percent.

## GYSI SPEAKS ON STATE-CHURCH RELATIONSHIP

AU251439 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 23 Feb 81 p 3

[From the greetings address delivered by Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, at the session of the Christian Democratic Union Main Executive Presidium at Burgscheidungen--date not given]

[Summary] How else but with the cooperation of all GDR citizens would it have been possible to make 1980 the year with the biggest production increase in our history's republic. "The cooperation of the Christians in this creative social process that sets all things into revolutionary motion also makes it clear that the policy of the party of the workers class and of the government in our country is such a popular policy because it is good for everybody, because it serves everybody.

"Gratitude also must be expressed to those thousands of members of your party who are active in ministerial offices, in leading functions in the church, in synods and community churches and who are witnesses and paragons there of the normalcy and freedom of being a Christian in our socialist community.

"Our constructive and understanding attitude toward church affairs will continue in the future." Hence the understanding achieved at the significant meeting between State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and the Presidium of the conference of church leaderships led by Bishop Shoenherr on 6 March 1978 remains applicable in both letter and spirit.

"We proceed from the fact that the separation and independence of the churches of our republic from the churches in the FRG and the proven separation of state and church--that is noninterference by the state in internal church affairs--are as much in the interest of all of us and also in the well-understood interest of the churches as is the churches' self-motivated support for peace, disarmament and detente."

We respect everybody who has loyally trodden with us the difficult path of the past decades and it is to the historic credit of all those people that through their activities have prepared and made possible the present much broader front of our cooperation. Thus when church quarters refer to a certain historic significance of the meeting of 6 March 1978, of the binding normative significance of this meeting, which will also be binding and normative in the future, it is virtually possible to reaffirm this evaluation. "That date above all marks a certain conclusion to a process of many decades of rethinking in our churches thereby achieving a new platform for further development.

## BRIEFS

SHIP FOR USSR--The workers of the Stralsund Volkswerft shipyard today will turn over their 132d supertrawler built for the Soviet deep-sea fishing branch. With the ceremonious change of flags this afternoon the shipyard workers will have fulfilled their commitment undertaken in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress 5 days ahead of schedule. At present preparations are underway for the launching of the first ship of an Atlantic-class construction series, the refrigerating trawler [name of ship indistinct]. Plans provide for the construction of a greater number of ships of this type for the USSR by 1985. This year the Volkswerft shipyard will build a total of 26 fishing vessels. Thereby it will for the first time exceed the M1 billion level in industrial goods production. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1602 GMT 23 Feb 81 DW]

SPRING CULTIVATION PLANS--During the week of readiness for spring beginning today, the technical equipment, the stocks of seeds, planting material and fertilizers will be surveyed in GDR agriculture. Plans for this year provide, among other things, for sowing 635,000 hectares to summer grain and for planting sugarbeets on 265,000 hectares. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0907 GMT 23 Feb 81 DW]

KADAR ADDRESSES 24 FEB SESSION OF CPSU CONGRESS

For Budapest and Moscow reports of the speech by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at the 24 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 25 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 037, Supp 002.

EL SALVADOR WHITE PAPER 'DIRTY ACCUSATIONS' NOTED

AU251455 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 81 p 11

["S.A." article: "Revolution"]

[Text] An old phonograph record has been rediscovered in Washington: "The socialist countries are supporters of world terrorism." And the new President's propaganda, conducted with the enthusiasm of a novice, was enriched with another item a few days ago. To the socialist countries designated as "pro-terrorist" to date--Cuba, Vietnam and the Soviet Union--the rest of the socialist countries, including ours, have been added. The New York TIMES assumed the agreeable--and what is not immaterial, rewarding--role of the "revealer," publishing brief excerpts from a white paper pasted together by the U.S. State Department. It would be difficult to say what makes the white paper in question so immaculately white. Still, its accusations are all the more dirty. To quote from it: A gathering at which representatives of the socialist countries allegedly received requests from the El Salvador liberation forces for weapons was held at the Hungarian Embassy in Mexico City in April 1980.

A spokesman of the U.S. State Department has called the New York TIMES report authentic and announced that soon he himself would make the ominous "documents" public.

We must admit that it has been a long time since we waited for a "revelation" with such curiosity as we do now for the one so sensationally announced in Washington. We must prepare ourselves for the people in charge to cast it in our teeth: The Hungarian Embassy in Mexico was the site of a consultation in April 1980. We will find it difficult to clear ourselves of this "accusation," in view of the fact that everyone knows: Members of the socialist countries' embassies--and not only in Mexico City--regularly meet with each other and others, including diplomats of the NATO countries. At such meetings--in conformity with the rules of diplomacy--they exchange views about international affairs.

It need not be proven that the socialist countries, including Hungary, are in solidarity with the national liberation movements and the peoples struggling for their independence. They have not been keeping that a secret and they will pursue the same policy in the future, in contrast to the imperialist countries which have always been and remain in solidarity with the enemies of independence and progress but have not refrained from intervening in the domestic affairs of other peoples and nations.

It seems that the U.S. State Department is trying to prepare the ground for its own military intervention against the people of El Salvador through the outdated trick of the "thief himself shouting thief," by the accusation of an "international communist conspiracy."

As for alleged support with weapons: Precisely in our newspaper's latest issue we published the statement of an El Salvador leftist leader [Ana Gadalupe Martinez], who stated that they have captured a large portion of their weapons and are obtaining the rest from the extensive Latin American black market. And what can be read on the weapons that have changed owners: Made in U.S.A.

LAJOS MEHES VISITS PAKS ATOMIC POWER STATION

LD260004 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] The putting into operation of the first block of the Paks atomic energy power station has gotten underway. After the installation of more than 100 technological systems the appliances will be cleaned and carefully tested. The Paks construction site was visited by Lajos Mehes, minister of industry, who also attended a meeting of leading officials of the electrical industry sector.

'POSITIVE' REAGAN STAND ON BREZHNEV PROPOSALS NOTED

LD260504 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Andrzej Rayzacher commentary: "Hopes for a Turn for the Better"]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Geb (PAP)--Important proposals were made during the 26th CPSU Congress. Pointing to the significance of Soviet-U.S. relations and to the need for continuing dialogue between the two powers, Leonid Brezhnev proposed the holding of a summit without undue delay. Ronald Reagan said he would discuss this offer with his allies, but the U.S. President's basically positive attitude to this idea is testified to by the fact that he added he would like the meeting to be held without determining the agenda in advance. (?This) is a big change from the stand Reagan took during the election campaign, stressing his dislike of "summit diplomacy".

This alone testifies to the fact that the hopes for a turn in the world situation, which so far slid from dialogue into confrontation, seem to be substantiated. Most clearly the Soviet Union forwarded the initiative in the nick of time.

Special attention has been drawn to proposals on disarmament negotiations. The USSR agrees to resume the SALT negotiating process, provided that positive elements in the hitherto negotiations are not lost and that the second side gives up the pursuit of advantages serving exclusively its interests. The way in which the offer was presented suggests that Moscow is ready to renegotiate the SALT-2 treaty, possibly including new areas into it.

Leonid Brezhnev's speech contains many other invigorating (?ideas) aiming to unclog the channels of the detente dialogue in Europe and worldwide. These ideas were proposed on time and also those who have so far preferred intensifying tension instead of dialogue will have to seriously consider them.

JARUZELSKI AT CABINET ECONOMIC COMMITTEE SESSION

LD260440 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Feb (PAP)--First meeting of government economic committee, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers set up by Poland's new Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski held its first meeting today. Headed by Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Jaglielski and composed of other vice-premiers and heads of some economic ministries the committee is going to control the basic economic processes in Poland, supervise the execution of the assigned tasks and coordinate the activities of individual branches of economy.

Today the council reviewed a package of undertakings designed to increase exports, especially to Western countries, and pointed to [words indistinct] (?introducing) effective economic stimuli to boost the manufacture of exportable goods. Attention was drawn to the increasingly acute problems of imported machinery waiting to be installed in investment projects (?while) construction is suspended altogether.

Members of the committee voiced the view that it is necessary to cancel at once the orders for the delivery of all equipment unlikely to be installed any time soon in view of cuts in investment spending.

General Jaruzelski, who attended today's meeting, enumerated some problems to be examined by the committee as early as possible. This includes the need to work out a complex program of economies which would constitute an integral part of an overall program of the stabilization of economy. We should not hesitate to reach for savings in administration. Better use could be made of scientific potential. Special effort is to be taken to improve materials and raw materials supplies for industry as the situation in this area is highly unsatisfactory.

More effective steps should also be taken as regards energy, fuels, and raw materials economy. We cannot afford any waste. The country's situation is difficult--stressed the premier--and every citizen should be aware of the complexity and gravity of undertaken ventures and tasks.

NSZZ COMMISSION MEETS, VIEWS TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT

LD252254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Our correspondent reports that the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity held a conference in Gdansk today. At the start of the conference, Lech Walesa, chairman of the commission, reported on his first meeting with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. As a result of that meeting the government and the union took measures to reach agreement with representatives of private farmers striking in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne, and with students.

Next, Karol Modzelewski, the KKP press spokesman, reported on the progress and results achieved so far at talks with representatives of the Committee for Radio and Television. Negotiations on the subject of Solidarity's access to radio and television will be continued at government level.

The conference then discussed preparations for the publication of Solidarity's organ, the "SOLIDARNOSC" weekly, the first issue of which will appear at the end of March. In the next part of the session the KKP adopted a resolution on union finances and the formation of the Solidarity welfare fund, which will have the task of working for improved health protection conditions and of securing minimum welfare conditions for workers and their families.

After the election of a seven-man provisional audit commission, the KKP agreed on a common Solidarity stand on talks with the government.

In a communique issued at the end of the conference, the KKP expressed its readiness to enter into immediate talks with the government on the basic issues of implementing post-strike agreements, which would serve to remove the most important sources of social tension. The commission listed the following issues which they consider require urgent negotiations: The previous government's regulation dealing with the rules of payment for time spent on strike; the trade unions bill; the censorship bill; NSZZ access to mass information media; the problems of law and order, and problem of buildings for health service institutions. The KKP instructed the delegation which will hold talks with the government to raise these matters, and laid down guidelines regarding the stand which the union's representatives must adopt during the negotiations.

More on Commission Meeting

LD261000 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Feb (PAP)--The National Coordinating Commission of the "Solidarnosc" union met in Gdansk today. The commission's chairman, Lech Walesa, presented information about his talks in Warsaw recently with Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Head of the national centre of socio-vocational studies, Andrzej Wielowieyski, and Prof Bronislaw Geremek submitted for discussion draft guidelines of the union's activity which are to be approved by the first congress of "Solidarnosc". Members of the union would be shortly acquainted with the content of that document.

Issues connected with the "Solidarnosc" union's access to mass media were also discussed, as well as the possibilities that have occurred in effect of the latest talks, to start soon the publishing of the "SOLIDARNOSC" weekly. The union's stand on negotiations with the government on the adoption of one of the two rival drafts of a law on censorship was presented as well.

The "Solidarnosc" National Coordinating Committee has resolved to set up the union's social fund.

SOLIDARITY REPORTS ON PRISONERS' TREATMENT

NC260819 Paris AFP in English 0635 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Feb (AFP)--One of several imprisoned members of the dissident Independent Poland Confederation (KPN) was in serious condition in a hospital here after having refused to eat since December 2,8 [as received] a source at the Warsaw headquarters of Solidarity, the national independent union federation reported Wednesday.

The hunger striker, identified as Zygmuvt Golawski, was hospitalized 10 days ago because of health problems caused by his fast, the Solidarity source said. He had been striking to protest his own imprisonment and that of several other KPN members.

Polish authorities on September 23 arrested KPN Chairman Leszek Mczulski, and detained six more members of the group two months later. They charged them with "conducting activity against the state and the major interests of Polish society," and of "maintaining contacts with enemies of socialist Poland."

Sources close to the KPN, a nationalist opposition movement, said Wednesday night that Solidarity's political prisoner defense committee had been refused permission to send a medical team to verify the health of the prisoners and the conditions under which they were being held.

REPORTAGE ON PARIS TALKS TO SOLVE DEBT PROBLEM

Warsaw Radio Report

LD252136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Our balance of payments was discussed in Paris today. Here is a report by (Andrzej Bilik):

Representatives of 15 Western countries to which Poland is indebted today ended their 3-day meeting in Paris. Our own financial delegation also took part in it. Under discussion were the problems of the Polish balance of payments and also the possibility of maintaining a high level of trade with Poland.

Newspapermen were told that progress was made during the Paris meeting, which will make it possible to resume talks at the beginning of April. In the meantime interested countries will adopt measures which were described as temporary. Some delegations announced in Paris that they would recommend to their states that early and far-reaching measures should be taken. Attention was drawn to the recent decision of the USSR which, as is well known, agreed to postpone the settlement of Polish financial obligations to 1985. Hope was expressed that private banks should also consider the possibility of taking appropriate steps.

Participants in the Paris meeting stressed its good atmosphere. No secret was made of the fact that it was influenced by the improvement in our country's internal situation. But I would like to remind you that fundamental decisions cannot be expected earlier than April.

Communique on Talks

OW260103 Tokyo KYODO in English 0053 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Text] Paris, 25 Feb KYODO--Officials of Poland's 15 creditor countries Wednesday ended three days of discussions here on Poland's debt problem after issuing a communique recommending taking of short-term measures to help Poland.

The communique said another round of meetings will be held early in April.

During the period, it called on various countries concerned to take short-term measures to help Poland.

It said commercial bank representatives of the creditor nations also will meet with Polish officials to study ways of rescheduling some of Poland's commercial banks. [as received]

Officials concerned said much time was spent at the Paris meeting in briefings made by the Polish delegation on its country's plan for rebuilding its economy.

They said the creditor nations were unable to decide on how to deal with the dollar 24 billion in debts owed by Poland and the dollar 10 billion required by that country this year alone to cover repayment of interests and debts due for repayment.

The officials said, however, the creditor nations revealed a positive stance on Polish request for a moratorium on debts repayment and on emergency aid.

COMMITTEE HEARS OF INCREASED ESPIONAGE ACTIVITY

LD260520 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 26 Feb 81

[Text] A considerable percentage of the provisions of the law are concerned with the functioning of the family. The provisions contained in the family code and in other legal acts aim at strengthening the role of the family in national life, at the creation of conditions necessary for its correct functioning.

And what shape does implementation of these provisions take? What actions are being taken to protect and strengthen the family? Such problems were discussed yesterday at the session of the Sejm Committee for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice.

In discussing such a broad and important subject, deputies spoke on many questions concerning primarily the sources of negative phenomena in family life.

During the committee session, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Adam Krzysztoforski acquainted deputies with some problems linked with antistate activities.

He pointed to, among other things, the increased activity of foreign espionage. He also said that final steps are being made connected with completion of investigations concerning the Confederation of Independent Poland.

Then presenting an appraisal of the work of the Committee for Social Self-Defense and the Committee for the Defense of Workers, he stated that the extensive propaganda campaign about repression for political views was mendavious and that in the Ministry of Internal Affairs there are no cases involving political views. But there are, on the other hand, proceedings in cases involving concrete violation of the law.

The prosecutor-general, Lucjan Czubinski, reported on cases that are being dealt with by his office. Referring to the intensive work of the Supreme Chamber of Control inspectors, which is in progress concerning certain former members of the leadership of the Committee for Radio and Television, he said that investigations into these cases will probably be completed by the end of May.

He also reported on the start of investigations concerning Former Minister of Construction Adam Glazur. The prosecutor-general expressed the view that it should always be the justice administration that declares someone guilty or not guilty, through calm actions, without simplifications and in conformity with the demands of legality.

The prosecutor-general and the deputy minister of internal affairs also replied to the numerous questions from deputies. Many of them spoke about the need for better and more concrete information to be given on matters raised by deputies and discussed by them.

FORMER SOLDIERS ESTABLISH ASSOCIATION, AIM AT UNION

LD260008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] Requests from military retired personnel and disabled pensioners, and from reserve soldiers about the appointment of a union of former regular soldiers are being received by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense from various regions of the country. It is coming into existence at present as an association of higher utility [stowarzyszenie wyzszej uzytecznosci] and its seat will be in Warsaw. Retired Col Roman Les is chairman of the Founding Committee of the Union of Former Regular Soldiers.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES CONFERENCE ON DRINK PROBLEM

LD260008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] The important social problem of curbing and liquidating alcoholism was today the subject of a meeting between the premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, and representatives of social and scientific organizations. Taking part were representatives of organizations involved in antialcohol work: The social antialcohol committee, the women's league and the episcopate's commission for sobriety. Also taking part were representatives of Solidarity trade unions, and also of the Branch and Autonomous trade unions.

The debate was chaired by Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, and among those present were the ministers of health, education, justice and finances.

The problem of alcoholism affects the individual, the family and the whole nation, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski declared in his speech. That is why we need a program for national sobriety, a program which will be consistently implemented with the support and participation of the whole nation.

The discussion resulted in working out such a program. A number of concrete decisions were also made, among which it was decided to reactivate the Permanent Commission of the Council of Ministers for Antialcoholism.

'SELF-MANAGEMENT' SEEN OFFERING ECONOMIC DIVIDENDS

LD251605 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 20-22 Feb 81 p 2

[Part II of Jacek Dlugolecki article printed in "Self-Government" (Samorzadnosc) column: "About the Yugoslav Model--A Sequel"]

[Excerpt] In my preceding article ("Solidarity" No 57) about the Yugoslav economic order I described the associated workers' self-management system. This system and the system governing the election of representatives to the Federal Assembly and regional municipal and republic assemblies have for years been on the Polish information media's black list. Yugoslavia was supposedly a socialist country and the Yugoslav people supposedly loved their own brand of socialism, but we were not supposed to write about this in view of the completely different methods used to implement socialism in Poland. In Yugoslavia, plants, farms and publishing houses were managed by the working people through frequently replaced delegates, whereas in our country the man in the street was deprived of the right to feel that he owned the means of production. A multistructural administrative apparatus was to blame for this situation.

Our country, its citizens and its political and professional organizations are now faced with a great intellectual task--they have to determine what management methods are to be used. It seems that it is necessary to create social pressure--a kind of lobby--with a view of setting up genuine self-management [samorzadnosc] in control of means of production. Our current plan for reform suggests, as an alternative, a form of "diarchy" whereby control would be exerted by management with some self-management bodies' cooperation (these bodies would to some extent assist the plant's director, who would be appointed). However, such "diarchy" could neither ensure effective management nor fulfill manual and office workers' expectations. This is why the creation of a "lobby" in support of full self-management in the country is a matter of paramount importance for us all. Under a feudal system, a feudal lord (owner) was in direct control of his means of production and remained close to them, exploiting his subjects. Under the capitalist system, the owner (or the board of directors) existed and managed his plants and iron works, living close to them and exploiting his hired work force with a view to making profits. Both systems were unfair, but, theoretically, they were simple and clear and did not hamper management.

Then socialism appeared on the scene; principles propounded by Marx and Vladimir Ulyanov were in practice distorted by scales and dogmas. Owners of the means of production (the community was nominated the owner by decree), were replaced by particular tenants--directors of small, medium and large units--whose activities, however, were hampered by a multitude of regulations and unwritten customs. As a result, they were not tenants in the ordinary meaning of the word, since tenants have the right to choose their methods of management and take risks. As a result, owners and tenants of plants were replaced with an undefined magma devoid of either owners or genuine tenants of the means of production.

As a result of historical events, Socialist Yugoslavia embarked on a path different from our path. At first, excluded from the fellowship of socialist countries (we can still recall cartoons in newspapers showing Tito and Rankovic with axes in their hands), it embarked on a different path in the sphere of economic planning.

We should mention at this point the main principle on which the Yuguslav model has been based--the Yugoslavs have finally found owners and tenants for their means of production; they have found something that we have been seeking eagerly for the past 36 years. An outsider could say: What is there so difficult about finding such tenants? Now the simplest things are the most difficult to find; but ever since it was discovered who were to be the tenants of iron works and plants, everything has become clear and everything has started falling into place. The country's inhabitants rule the country through regional delegates. Work forces are the unrestricted tenants of their enterprises through frequently replaced delegates.

The work forces themselves look after their enterprises' interests, the implementation of plans and the introduction of new, competitive goods and new technologies in order to produce sets of goods or services which are in the greatest demand on the market, sell as many of these goods as possible and pay themselves the largest possible amount of dinars per month in the form of wages.

In Yugoslavia, it is not the enterprises producing finished products which have to run after suppliers of components; it is the suppliers who humbly ask enterprises producing automobiles, for instance, to kindly (!) purchase more starters or batteries from them. Under such conditions, this whole game begins to make economic sense. And what about social sense? We can remember a slogan from the Russian revolution: All power to the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies. What remains of that slogan? Maybe 5 or 10 percent of powers in the hands of regional soviets and even fewer powers in the hands of the KSR [expansion unknown]. It is perhaps precisely because the system of government in Yugoslavia has been so intrinsically socialist that no one has so far made a frontal attack on it--it has simply been "forgotten." And yet the Yugoslavs have not left their model unchanged but have been modernizing it continuously. Both the unionized labor law and the system governing membership of assemblies, as enshrined in the SFRY Constitution, have recently been updated.

However, enough of these superlatives--it is now time for a cold douse. Even though, in theory, the model of self-management and the system of representation in Yugoslavia are almost perfect, both trade union freedoms and some civil freedoms lag far behind. The right to strike is limited; problems connected with social and strike crises and possibilities of expressing views on matters of fundamental importance for the country differing from the official viewpoint are subjected to a number of imposed interdictions. Therefore, while acknowledging the relative perfection of some solutions adopted by the Yugoslavs with respect to the organization of economic and social life, we do not have to approve of all their other measures. In fact, a number of developments concerning trade union matters in Poland have been the subject of intensive inquiries on the part of our kinsmen from the Adriatic. Furthermore, the ruthless fight against deviations in Yugoslavia--for instance, the struggle some years ago against the "Djilas deviation" (Djilas, a former friend of Tito and a member of the leadership who was accused of deviations and imprisoned, now a political theoretician in exile)--could also be open to discussion among ourselves, because we have witnessed similar occurrences in our country.

Summing it all up, we can determine the main difference between the Yugoslav economic model and both the coercive model (which prevails in our country--a higher-level director gives orders to a lower-level director, while society remains apathetic) and the semicoercive model which the reforms commission attached to the government office is now suggesting to us. Under the Yugoslav system, self-management has full authority, whereas under our hitherto existing system the KSR's play a very small role. Under a half-measures (semicoercive) system, management would be subordinate to a "diarchy," that is, self-management and superior authority (clause 79 of the plan for reforms here). Furthermore, no free regrouping of enterprises--into trusts--would be allowed.

Finally, I would like to refer to the question of the managerial circles' concern about a possible reduction in their status, influence and salaries. Effective directors are incomparably better off in Yugoslavia than in Poland without having to make "arrangements," without favoritism and connections and without the slogan "support one another." In 1977, I met abroad a director of metal works in Zagreb who was paid by his own work force the colossal--under conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia--salary of 60,000 dinars per month. The funny part of it was that the director was not at all pleased with these conditions and was considering a more lucrative proposal from another enterprise. On the other hand, under a self-management system, any ineffective director who relies on arrangements and is unable to change his ways would have to change his profession both in the interests of the work force and in the general interest.

COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE 'SPECIAL COURSES'

LD251136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 25 Feb 81

[From the press review]

[Text] SZTANDAR MLODYCH reports that Roman Ney, rector of the Mining and Metallurgy Academy, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has appointed a special Senate commission to examine in depth all the charges submitted by the NSZZ Solidarity Factory Committee in the Mining and Metallurgy Academy.

The authors of the charges refer to evidence in their possession and state that, during the post-war years, special engineering studies were introduced on a large scale in regard to various specialities. High functionaries in political and economic life were the only people to benefit from the advantages granted by these special studies.

The authors say that in 1955-56 there existed a 2-year engineering course for merited employees of metallurgy, and in 1957-61 there was a 4-year extramural course on the economics of metallurgy in the Ministry of Metallurgy in Warsaw for officials of that ministry.

GDANSK SHIPYARD PZPR HOLDS FACTORY CONFERENCE

LD232315 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia, 23 Feb (PAP)—The first factory conference of the PZPR before the ninth congress was held in the Gdansk shipyard. It has been organized according to principles worked out within the shipyard. There was no presidium with invited guests from higher echelons. The debate was chaired by the conference cochairmen elected by the room. In the elections the number of candidacies was unlimited and all were submitted from the room. The first secretary of the factory committee was elected separately. It was Jan Labecki, member of the Central Committee. Delegates for the congress and for the district conference were also elected. it has been decided that delegates for the factory conference will keep their mandates throughout the term and that they will meet at least once a year.

The conference lasted 2 days, and the discussion was dominated by political and intra-party problems. Much attention has been dedicated to problems pertaining to the democratization of life within the party.

WROCLAW VOIVODSHIP PARTY COMMITTEE VIEWS TASKS

LD212024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Feb 81

[Text] Current tasks of the voivodship party organization before the party extraordinary congress were discussed at the plenum of the Wroclaw Voivodship party committee. The achievements of ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the party was considered to be an essential task during the period preceding the ninth congress. At the plenum it was stated that the party, in order to be able to lead the people and to gain social support, must have an explicit ideological face and must create and support models of modesty, honesty and devotion. The PZPR, it was stressed, cannot be a party of party branches or an appointment apparatus where members play the role of obedient performers.

Overcoming the economic crisis was considered to be an extremely important task of party organizations. Changes were made in the composition of the voivodship committee plenum. A resolution was adopted mapping out the most important tasks for the voivodship party organization before the ninth congress.

## CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES 24 FEB SESSION OF CPSU CONGRESS

For Bucharest and Moscow reports of the speech by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, at the 24 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 25 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 037, Supp 002.

## CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES KUWAITI CHIEF OF STATE

AU260845 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Feb 81 p 6

[Congratulatory message sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Amir of Kuwait on national anniversary]

[Text] To His Highness Khalid al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait.

On the occasion of your country's national anniversary I take great pleasure in conveying to you cordial congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness, and for progress, prosperity and peace to the friendly Kuwaiti people.

I want to express my confidence that the good relations established between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the state of Kuwait will continuously develop, in the interests of our peoples and countries and of the cause of international peace, detente and understanding.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

## CORNEL BURTICA HEADS DELEGATION ON VISIT TO IRAQ

For Baghdad reportage on the visit to Iraq by a delegation led by Cornel Burtica, deputy premier and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, including a report on a message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, see the Iraq section, page E 1, of the 24 February Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## FINANCE MINISTER RECEIVES IBRD EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AU241231 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1205 GMT 24 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Feb (AGERPRES)--On February 24 Paul Niculescu, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of finance, was called on by Anthony Looijen, executive director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), who visited Romania.

During the interview the sides discussed problems related to the further development of the cooperation and collaboration between Romania and the IBRD.

During his Romanian sojourn the guest conducted talks at the investment bank and at the bank for agriculture and food industry, on the cooperation between the Romanian banking institutions and the World Bank.

DRAGOSAVAC ADDRESSES 26TH CPSU CONGRESS 25 FEB

For TANJUG and TASS reports of the speech by Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 25 February session of the 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, see the supplement to the 26th February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT entitled "Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress," No 038, Supp 003.

SUNDIC VIEWS REAGAN REACTION TO BREZHNEV SPEECH

LD252146 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] We devote our foreign political commentary to Leonid Brezhnev's offer to Washington and to Ronald Reagan's reply. Here is Milika Sundic: U.S. President Ronald Reagan has reacted more quickly than might have been expected to Leonid Brezhnev's suggestion--made during his report to the 26th CPSU Congress--that an essential link in the dialogue between the two superpowers would be a summit meeting. With the reservation that an important precondition for holding such a meeting would be Soviet behavior, the U.S. President evaluated the initiative by the head of the Soviet state and party as very interesting. One gets the impression that the White House was expecting Moscow's offer and that the reply to it had been prepared in advance.

Although they should not be disregarded, Reagan's conditions are considerably milder than those he presented during the election campaign and in his inauguration speech when he took on the duties of president. It is true that there is an insistence on a change in Soviet behavior, obviously meaning the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, the situation in Poland and accusations that the Soviet Union is sending arms via Cuba to El Salvador. But everything points to the conclusion that the White House, even in such conditions, is not excluding the possibility of a dialogue with Moscow. Such American behavior--of which it may be said that it is more flexible--has also evidently been influenced by the standpoints of America's West European allies, who are in favor of a relaxation of existing tension between East and West and the two superpowers.

Apart from this, Brezhnev's speech at the 26th CPSU Congress has met with a favorable response in West Europe, so that this, too, might be a reason for the American President's rapid and essentially favorable response to Leonid Brezhnev's proposal. Reagan's view is that in the event of agreement, a date and venue be set for a meeting between him and Brezhnev, but that he would not require the agenda to be agreed on in advance is very significant. Such an approach to Leonid Brezhnev's initiative may make its realization considerably easier, for it may be reliably assumed that the Soviet Union would be suited best by a meeting with Reagan without a pre-set agenda or any preconditions.

In his reaction to Leonid Brezhnev's offer, Ronald Reagan showed interest in talking with the Soviet Union about a reduction in nuclear arms; as he said, in the context of an agreement which would ensure efficient control of a reduction in nuclear arms. Reagan's interest in a dialogue on a reduction in nuclear arms points to the conclusion that Washington is carefully studying the proposals made by Leonid Brezhnev.

By all accounts, one should not be surprised if contacts between the two superpowers--not only on disarmament, but also on other problems--start earlier than might have been expected 1 month ago. Reagan's rapid response to Brezhnev's speech demonstrates that the United States shares the Soviet view that the international situation depends to a great extent on the policies of the United States and the Soviet Union; as Brezhnev said, on cooperation between the two superpowers. Nevertheless, despite Brezhnev's offer and Reagan's reply, it is not very likely that a meeting between the two leaders will take place as quickly as the Soviet Union would like. However, if it may be considered that the door to such a meeting is left open--and it seems that it is--then this itself is enough for a gradual thaw in relations between the two big powers. Placing all the responsibility for the existing situation on Reagan's predecessor, Moscow--perhaps ready to make some concessions--is offering the new American President, even before it has got to know him, the possibility of the United States continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union which was broken off following the Soviet action in Afghanistan.

POLITIKA ON 'POSITIVE' DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND

LD212234 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 21 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG)--Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes in tomorrow's number that the latest development of the situation in Poland, where even the last of the strikes have ceased, indicates the beginning of a slow renewal of confidence between the new Polish Government and the people. Another indication of a calming of the situation, in the paper's view, was last week's meeting in Berlin between Stanislaw Kania and Erich Honecker.

In an editorial, the paper points out that the latest development has also lessened the concern felt in the Warsaw Treaty. At the height of the crisis, public warnings to the effect that "antisocialist elements" were striking the keynote of events in Poland were being addressed to the country from Berlin, Prague and--in a somewhat different manner and less frequently--the Soviet Union. Sharp accusations were also sounded from time to time, and the various international obligations of not only Poland but also the countries of the "socialist community" as a whole pointed out.

It was not always easy to distinguish objections addressed to the Polish United Workers' Party leadership and the government from those raised against activity of the above-mentioned "anti-socialist forces", says POLITIKA. "All of this blended to form a picture which, to put it mildly, was no means conducive to calm thinking on the future of Poland, and, naturally, that of a wider, European region, and not it alone", writes the paper.

POLITIKA expresses the confidence that the positive development in Poland will continue and concludes: "On how will the PUWP renew itself and how will harmony in its ranks grow stronger depends now the real influence of the party whose 'leading role' has also been recognized by the agreements reached in the Baltic, but along with what certainly is a useful reminder that this recognized role can by no means be exercised by the methods which, to a considerable extent, lie at the very root of the present crisis."

SFRY VIEW ON EL SALVADOR GIVEN TO U.S. OFFICIAL

AU251458 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 81 p 8

[Text] At the initiative of the American side, Milos Melosvki, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, has received Luigi Einaudi, an official of the Department of State, who conveyed the American views and assessments in connection with the development of the situation in Central America and El Salvador. Melovski set forth Yugoslavia's positions in connection with the situation in that part of the world.

PRESIDENCY DISCUSSES REPORT ON NONALIGNED MEETING

LD260012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 25 Feb 81

["Press Statement on SFRY Presidency Session"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)--Today a session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade under the chairmanship of President Cvijetin Mijatovic. The highest-ranking officials of the federation also took part in the work of the session, which discussed the report on the work of the Yugoslav delegation to the Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Conference held in New Delhi from 9 to 13 February. The delegation had been led by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs. It was judged that this significant gathering of nonaligned countries had been very successful in its overall results. Empahsis was also laid on the significane of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the first conference of nonaligned countries' in Belgrade, and on the appeal for peace and international cooperation which was made to all countries from the formal session in New Delhi.

At the Presidency session it was pointed out that the New Delhi ministerial conference had once again confirmed the indispensalbe role of the policy and movement of nonalignment in maintaining peace and security and in developing and promoting equitable international political and economic cooperation. The conference reflected the continued interest of the majority of nonaligned countries in strengthening nonalignment's independence and international role by means of active involvement in the original principles of the policy of nonalignment. Its success is based on the deep conviction of the nonaligned countries that the policy of nonalignment represents an essential need of the international community.

The Presidency emphasized that the ministerial conference represented a timely and adequate effort on the part of nonaligned countries at stopping the serious deterioration of international relations characterized by the threat to detente and increased bloc competition, the ever-increasing use of force, intervention and interference and outbreaks of new conflicts. The conference demonstrated that nonalignment is a real force which can offer a pointer to a way out of the current crisis in international relations. Its decisions, standpoints and messages represent a firm basis for the continued active involvement of nonaligned countries in the direction of searching for solutions to all open questions in the international community, in particular in the context of the United Nations.

The exceptional attention which the conference devoted to the state of the world economy, as was emphasized at the Presidency session, is a reflection of the continued sharpening of the crisis in international economic relations and its negative consequences for the economies of the nonaligned and developing countries and their socioeconomic development. The Presidency welcomed the conference's unity of views on the need to apply the original principles of the policy of nonalignment to this sphere too, enabling even more intensive involvement by nonaligned and developing countries to take place in the coming period on setting up a new international economic order and solving the most topical international economic problems.

In this respect particular significance is attached to the demand for a start to global negotiations aimed at overcoming the existing difficult situation and opening up prospects for accelerated development of developing countries and more equitable relations in the world economy. The Presidency also emphasized the significance of the conference's decisions on the need to continue to promote mutual cooperation between nonaligned and developing countries by developing a strategy of dependence on one's own resources. In this connection it emphasized the need for fresh efforts aimed at the further realization of the conclusions of the sixth summit of nonaligned countries and the continued promotion of cooperation in all spheres between Yugoslavia and developing countries.

The significance of the conference decisions, as was pointed at at the session, lies in the fact that they were arrived at in a democratice way by means of a consensus, while respecting differences. This turned out to be the best way to adopt principled standpoints on acute crisis problems and to prevent attempts at dividing and reorienting the movement. Particular significance is attached to the conference decisions in connection with the peaceful resolution of disputes between nonaligned countries, as well as on the joint approach of nonaligned countries aimed at the earliest possible adoption of a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference at the UN General Assembly.

At the session it was judged that in its overall results the conference had contributed to a strengthening of confidence in the policy and movement of nonalignment as a moral and political force of an independent, global and nonbloc factor in international relations, thereby defining even more firmly the basis of strengthening cohesion and unity in the movement and its even more dynamic and active involvement in solving world problems.

The Presidency positively assessed the Yugoslav delegation's contribution to the conference's successful outcome.

At the Presidency session some issues from the sphere of the command and leadership of the SFRY Armed Forces and other questions in the Presidency's constitutional jurisdiction were also discussed.

The Presidency adopted a decision to grant amnesty to a certain number of convicted persons and was acquainted with a report on the work of the commission on amnesty for 1980.

ASSEMBLY CONSIDERS DRAFT 5-YEAR PLAN, HEARS DRAGAN

LD252354 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 25 Feb 81

[Text] 25 Feb (TANJUG)--Work on adjusting the provisions of a draft of Yugoslavia's social and economic development plan for the 1981-85 period started at the Assembly of Yugoslavia today. At the session of the Assembly's Chamber of Republic and Provinces, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council Zvone Dragan stated that the assemblies of all constituent republics and provinces had essentially upheld the draft and authorized their delegations to the Assembly of Yugoslavia to approach adjusting the final version of the document. In Yugoslavia, planning of economic development starts from the base, from the economic enterprises and workshops up to the federation through the communes and municipalities, provinces and republics.

The basic guidelines of the plan for the next five years set the annual growth rate in gross domestic product at 4.5 percent, industrial production at 5 percent, agricultural production at 4.5 percent, exports at 8 percent and imports at 1.1 percent.

The country's economic stabilization policy is woven into its future development plan, Dragan stated. It is reflected in the efforts to adjust the trends of social reproduction and investment policy, and to substantially improve the position of Yugoslavia in international economic exchange.

Speaking of the comments and suggestions made by the republics and provinces in connection with the plan, Dragan said that the majority of those were acceptable and could be fitted into the new five-year plan.

REPUBLICS, VOJVODINA TO BUILD NEW PLANTS IN KOSOVO

AU252052 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 81 p 9

[Z. Zejneli report]

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb --A delegation of the Executive Council and Economic Chamber of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia recently visited Kosovo. The delegation held talks with the Kosovo Executive Council and the Economic Chamber on promoting the already well developed economic cooperation.

This Year, Three Projects

Discussing past mutual activity, it was concluded that cooperation between the two economies on the bases of association of labor and pooling of resources was successful in the past 5-year period. However, despite this, the past income relations still do not correctly reflect the possibilities, needs and wishes of Kosovo and Slovenia.

During the talks of the two delegations, which were led by Bahri Oruci and Janez Zemljaric, president of the Executive Councils of Kosovo and Slovenia respectively, it was agreed that as early as this year the construction of three industrial projects should begin in which 1.4 billion dinars will be invested, and which, particularly important for Kosovo, will employ nearly 600 workers. During the talks, the possibility of completing another 13 programs was discussed. This is the greatest offer made by a republic thus far.

What Do Other Republics Offer

At the beginning of the current 5-year period, after nearly 1 year's delay, all the republics and the Province of Vojvodina submitted to the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, on the basis of last year's accords on constructing economic projects in Kosovo, proposals on building several projects in order to encourage a more rapid development of this underdeveloped region.

For instance, the economy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia proposes building a pump factory, while on its part the Socialist Republic of Croatia believes that it would be best if, in cooperation with the Farmokos pharmaceutical factory of Prizren, it built a toilet soap factory. Businessmen of Montenegro and Kosovo are discussing the possibilities for establishing pear plantations and for constructing plants for meat, milk and fish production, while Bosnia-Hercegovina produced a plan for constructing a factory to produce construction fittings, which would be built in Podujevo.

Representatives of the industry of pharmaceutical products of Vojvodina and Kosovo are discussing the possibility of constructing a plant which would produce acetysalicylic acid and meet the country's needs. Certain other programs are also planned, ranging from the production of agricultural machinery, a factory for prefabricated housing, and household mixers to the construction of a plant for producing gelatin capsules. Macedonia is offering a project on the processing industry. Thus, for instance, the Alumina work organization of Skopje is already working on an investment plan for production of aluminum facing panels. As envisaged, this project would be built in Vucitrn.

RILINDJA OUTLINES TRADE STRUCTURE WITH ALBANIA

AU251944 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 22 Feb 81 p 8

[M. Studenica article: "Exports-Imports Intensified"]

[Text] The overall value of our country's trade with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania last year was $115 million (imports accounted for $60.8 million and exports for $54.2 million).

"Eximkos" exported goods valued at $15.2 million to Albania and imported from that country goods worth $5.8 million. The largest proportion of exports to Albania was made up of equipment, amounting to $6.6 million; followed by metals and metalloids, $3.4 million; textiles and skins, $3.3 million; and agricultural produce, $1.7 million. From Albania we imported mostly textile and leather products to the value of $3.5 million, followed by metals and metalloids valued at $1.7 million and agricultural produce worth $512,000.

The "Eximkos" organization of associated labor accounted for 18.3 percent of Yugoslavia's overall trade with Albania; for 28.08 percent of Yugoslavia's exports to Albania and 9.58 percent of Yugoslavia's imports from Albania. Kosovo as a whole accounted for 13.19 percent of Yugoslavia's total exports to Albania. The importation of commodities from Albania for the province's own needs was relatively smaller, amounting to about $1 million or 1.6 percent of Yugoslavia's total imports.

The hitherto incomplete delivery of commodities on the basis of last year's contracts is expected to be completed by the end of the current month. The value of these incomplete contracts between "Eximkos" and the Albanian exporting and importing organizations amounts to $6.6 million.

An even larger volume of trade is expected to take place this year between our country and Albania; "Eximkos" is also expected to take an even more active part in this trade.